

THE PARTISAN

EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

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WANTED FOR MURDER



Const. PETER EAKINS



Const. DARYL BAKEWELL

A COMMUNITY WILL NOT BE
SATISFIED UNTIL IT IS THE JUDGE
OF ITS OPPRESSORS

WHITEWASH

A 55 year old Chilcotin Indian dies of injuries following an RCMP beating. An all white jury finds his death to be "unnatural" and "accidental". They attach no blame.

On November 28th of last year, Frederick Quilt, his wife Christine, sister Agnes, son Robin and a friend Isaac Myers were returning to their home on the Stone Reserve. Two RCMP constables, Daryl Bakewell and Peter Eakins came across their stalled pickup truck on Highway 20 about 5 miles east of Alexis Creek and about 15 miles from their home. On January 18th, at an inquest into Frederick Quilt's death held in Williams Lake, Constable Eakins testified: "I opened the door of the truck. I asked him (Fred Quilt) to step from the vehicle. There was no response from the man. I pulled him part way out of the vehicle. As his full weight came I wasn't able to hold him and he fell to the ground."

H. Lee Skipp, representing the attorney-general's department asked: "When he was falling, did you pay any attention to him?"

Eakins: "No, I didn't." Eakins denied using any violence on Fred Quilt. The other officer, Bakewell, testified that he tried to manoeuvre Quilt towards the police truck and that when he pulled Quilt towards himself they both fell. Bakewell also denied punching or kicking him.

Christine Quilt, Fred's wife, testified through an interpreter that she fell asleep in the pickup as the family was heading home from Anahim Lake. When the RCMP came she woke up and saw one grab her husband and pull him out.

"The one on the driver's side pulled him out and was jumping on him," she said. "He was jumping on him and yelling, 'Get up, son of a bitch'." Mrs. Quilt said her husband was groaning as the RCMP drove the family to the Anahim reserve. (They live on the Stone reserve.)

Public health nurse Leslie Roberts had testified that on November 29, the day after the incident, she was asked to go to the Anahim reserve to see Quilt. She said that he complained of abdominal pain and told her that the RCMP had beaten him up and had "jumped up and down" on him.

At the inquest, the nurse also testified that Fred Quilt had told her that the RCMP set fire to his truck with a flare. Peter Jensen, counsel for Constable Bakewell, suggested that Quilt merely meant the flare belonged to the police and not that they had burned the truck. Miss Roberts replied, "I think you're going in circles or trying to make me go in circles." Christine Quilt had showed her the remains of the flare she found when she returned to get the truck and found it had been set on fire and destroyed.

Fred Quilt was taken from his home to the Cariboo Memorial Hospital on November 30th, where he died the same day. Dr. Han Choo Lee who performed the autopsy 48 hours later, said that death resulted from acute peritonitis caused by a torn small bowel. At the inquest, in an answer to Henry Costil-



lous, representative of the Quilt estate, the doctor agreed that a "considerable amount of force would be needed" to cause the injury. "A kick is more probable than any other way of receiving the injury," the doctor said. Dr. Han Choo Lee also testified that, "The fatal injury, very possibly caused by a kick, occurred about 48 hours before the man died."

Shortly after Fred Quilt's death an investigation was called for and the 3 day inquest began about 7 weeks later. NO INDIANS -- not even those who were with Fred Quilt the night of the fatal beating -- were subpoenaed to appear at the hearing. The jury was white. Coroner S.S. Leith refused to discuss the selection of the jury other than to say that it was not chosen by RCMP in the Alexis Creek detachment. (As if there was any difference) But RCMP Superintendent Williamson, senior officer in the Kamloops subdivision, said the selection was made by the Williams Lake RCMP detachment on the direction of the coroner. Williamson said he didn't know how the jurors were chosen but that the usual practice is for the RCMP to pick names at random from a list supplied by the coroner. A spokesman for the Williams Lake detachment said he didn't know if there were Indian names on the list -- or even if a list was actually used. "But when the jury was picked, no allegations had been made, so it's of no significance," he said. He also said that if it had been suggested at the time that there would be so much publicity surrounding the case, it is likely there would have been Indian representation on the jury.

Coroner Leith said the jury consisted of "six mature and knowledgeable men. There certainly weren't any scallywags on it, or anything like that," he said. When he was asked about the method of selecting the jury, the coroner said: "I'm not going to discuss this. There are certain ways of doing these things." When Leith was asked if he thought the inquest was properly conducted he replied that he didn't think it was anybody's business but the attorney-generals. "I'm quite happy with the way things have gone", he said.

When being sworn in, all the Indian witnesses were asked, "What is truth, do you know what the truth means?" The

explanation given by Coroner Leith for this racist procedure was; "...when some witnesses speak a different language, we have to know that they understand the oath. The same is done with a child under 14..."

Mrs. Quilt, for whom the courtroom was a horrible and fearful experience, kept her head bowed throughout the counsel's questioning. For this, she was accused of 'not looking him in the eye' and the implication made that she was not telling the truth.

Racists in the courtroom snickered at the Indians as they tried to cope with the alien and racist proceedings. RCMP who testified that Fred Quilt was drunk and vomiting were shown the shirt worn by Fred Quilt that night -- it was stained with blood, not vomit.

Repeatedly, when the RCMP officers were asked questions, they made statements to the effect 'I don't know,' 'I don't recall,' 'maybe I might have said that'.

The all white, all male jury reached its verdict after 2 hours and 20 minutes. "We find that his death was unnatural and that it was accidental. We attach no blame to any person in connection with the death." They added, "We recommend that assistance be provided to minority ethnic groups as to rights pertaining to the law and obligations in giving testimony."

Many people are left wondering about justice. Tony Belcourt, president of the Native Council of Canada called the proceedings a colossal whitewash and said that charges should be laid against the RCMP officers Bakewell and Eakins. Fred House, president of the B.C. Association of Non-status Indians said that gaps in the evidence point up a common complaint of Indian people that there is no justice for them. Another Indian representative said, "apparently the truth has been twisted to keep a reputation untarnished."

Superintendent Williamson of the Kamloops RCMP division, asked if Bakewell and Eakins would be posted to another detachment said; "They'll just carry on as they have -- they've both been well accepted."

Said Coroner Leith: "Whatever happens in these things, there's going to be one side unhappy ... no matter what you do, there is always going to be someone disgruntled."



The Partisan says that these men are wanted for murder. The people will never be satisfied with judgements of law until they can judge their oppressors themselves.

SABOTAGE

Sabotage means to push back, pull out or break off the fangs of Capitalism.

W.D. Haywood

In the last few weeks in Vancouver many acts of sabotage have been committed. A man kicked in a window of a bank on Burrard Street crying out that it was robbing him. Another man changed the lettering on neon signs belonging to a car company to protest plastic culture.

We have heard some mid winter conversations plotting acts of sabotage for the next year. One unemployed man stated that he was going to start a couple of forest fires like he did last year in order to be assured of a job fighting them. Most of the acts of sabotage few people ever hear about. They are part of the day to day existence of anyone's life when it is ruled by regulations, phoney laws, and a system of economic patchwork.

Vancouver is the home of welfare regulations saboteurs, unemployment-insurance saboteurs, on the job saboteurs, and student saboteurs. Recently we have seen traffic lane saboteurs at the Georgia Viaduct demonstration and there was even the saboteur by phone who phoned in the bomb threat at the opening of the Victoria Legislature.

It turns out that groups of us were saboteurs last year without even being conscious of it. Trudeau complained with Benson that the government's unemployment figures were spoiled because a lot of us did not get jobs. Bennett complains that the economy of the province would be in good shape except it is being wrecked by people moving in from other places.

It is not an unusual thing to be a saboteur. Our numbers are growing every day. In fact it may be that to commit sabotage is the last act possible to our entire class in the present system. We feel it is certainly the first thing to be done in building a new one.

The word saboteur never meant the wide-eyed individual fanatic of the heroic suicidal patriot that the T.V. shows us. A saboteur has always been a class term, a word that expressed the activities of oppressed people in relationship to their oppressors. Its the worst thing a ruler can think of, someone who screws him up.

In pre-revolutionary France, the Aristocracy called their peasants "saboteurs". The root of the word was a verb meaning "to stumble or shuffle". The wooden shoes of the peasants were called "sabots". So if some marquis called you a saboteur he meant a clod, hick or bum, something like the attitude taken towards the unemployed today by Gagliardi.

During the industrial revolution striking workers turned the word around to mean a scab. The bosses, as usual, would bring in scabs to try and keep struck factories going. Because the scabs didn't know what they were doing, they would gum up the machinery. However the workers noticed that gumming up the works wasn't such a bad idea after all. They found that if it hurt the bosses it would certainly suit their purposes. So they became saboteurs too.

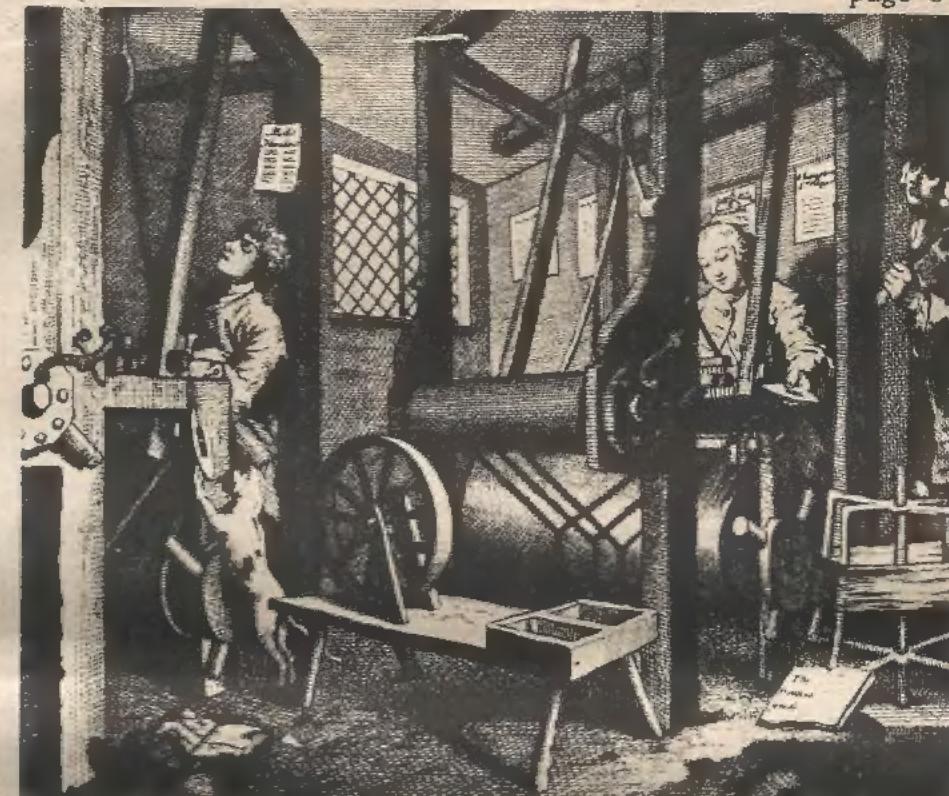
This was the time of the workers vicious struggles in Europe to become organized. The workers had to employ every means to beat off the attacks of police, goons, scabs, and company unions. They needed time to get their organizations together and make them strong.

Sabotage was a powerful strategy. The workers knew that the minute they left the factories to go on strike, they might be kept out forever. Consequently, a struggle tactic on the job was preferable. The workers slowed down production, they lost hot goods, they re-routed military materials. Many unions, including the powerful railway union, was built in this way.

In the beginning of this century the Wobblies adopted this line in North America. The definition of sabotage for them was the "conscious withdrawal of one's efficiency from the state." They talked about collective industrial sabotage including strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, slowdowns, anything that would hurt the bosses and give the workers' organization strength.

They proposed collective sabotage as an alternative to bourgeois democracy. They asked the people if they liked a system of voting once a year while living the rest of the year with racial, sexual and class discrimination enforced by government policy, bosses, the courts, and the police. The immediate alternative they proposed was "direct democracy" whereby committees of workers decided on the solutions to their problems, initiated the solutions and carried them through. This they felt allowed the possibility for complete enfranchisement all the year. Sabotage was the direct action used to build direct worker control in the factories and to give the workers power while they were doing it.

The concept of sabotage is one that can be applied in a similar way today. The state now has countless controls over the daily lives of the people.



It has created castes among us; between worker and unemployed, unemployed and welfare recipient, and even graduations in these groups. There is still racism, sexism, and class discrimination institutionalized throughout society. We need look no further than the federal government's various initiative programs to see what the state is up to. They have used millions of dollars to create de-politicising bandaids to treat the symptoms of the economic crisis that presently faces us. While we get the odd new clinic or park, the policies of unemployment and exploitation continue. Prices never go down, real wages never go up. Every once in a while there is a vote but we never vote for who should own the factories or what prices we pay. It's not on the ballot.

Many of the people that should oppose the policies that exploit them day to day are so tied up and dependent upon the bandaids of the state that they remain silent and grateful. Others commit small acts of sabotage but for them nothing really changes.

These groups see hope in every reform but each reform affects the basic situation not a bit. That situation is powerlessness.

In Vancouver in the last year, a small minority of people did protest their disenfranchisement and the control of the state. They disrupted City Council, picketed Safeway, occupied the welfare offices, and demonstrated in the streets. This certainly was not enough. The state may have been frightened into increasing some of their expenditures, and reorganizing some of their controls and a few people may have been helped, but no permanent mass political power was built.

We feel that social sabotage and the politics of direct action are necessary at this time to check the social control of the state and to build the strength of the people; and, that direct action must have as its corollary direct democracy, ie. direct control over decision-making on the things that affect us.



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In the next year, the Partisan Party is going to create some social facts that are a direct alternative to the fact of state control. In opposition to rules, regulations and policy we will place sabotage: in opposition, to bandaids and castes, we will place direct democracy & people's programs. We will show that organized resistance to the state is a far better thing to be a part of than the institutions of the state.

A mass political power can be built in this way. More and more people will become part of direct democracy. There is a possibility for complete minute to minute enfranchisement when we get together to discuss our mutual problems, initiate solutions and see them through while combating the interference of the state.

The Partisan Party has never wanted to reform the system. When we distributed cards on legal rights, we didn't think that the police would decide suddenly to be servants of the people. We distributed them because we thought that in certain situations if enough people insisted on the letter of the law, some of the efficiency of the police's harassment might be destroyed. If this number grew then more efficiency would go. When we told people about taking a cop to court if he disobeyed the law, we didn't do it to make a point about police harassment. We wanted to burn cops.

When we start our survival programs, the important thing is not that we might be able to feed or clothe a few more people, it is that people in the community will control those programs instead of the state controlling the people from somewhere else. The state can still feed people when it wants to, but it won't feed people and let them change their lives too. There has never been a political movement grow out of a bread line. There have been political movements that have wanted to end bread lines and seize the bakeries for the people.

We'll organize committees of saboteurs to fight for both political and economic needs. They won't be just concerned with prices going up or wages going down; they'll know what they need to do.

We've got a dream, it's a very small dream. In fact it's only a model. One of these days one gang of capitalists while talking with another gang of capitalists are going to decide to shut down a factory here in Vancouver they'll move their business somewhere else where labor is cheaper and business is better.

We're going to take over that factory and run it. Anyone who wants a job there can get one, we'll be expanding. People in other factories will get the idea. There will be one principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".

Everyone who works there will get enough to survive (sabotage!).

We'll make things to give to the community (sabotage).

We'll start an opportunities for revolutionaries program throughout the world (sabotage).



We'll trade with other revolutionaries (sabotage).

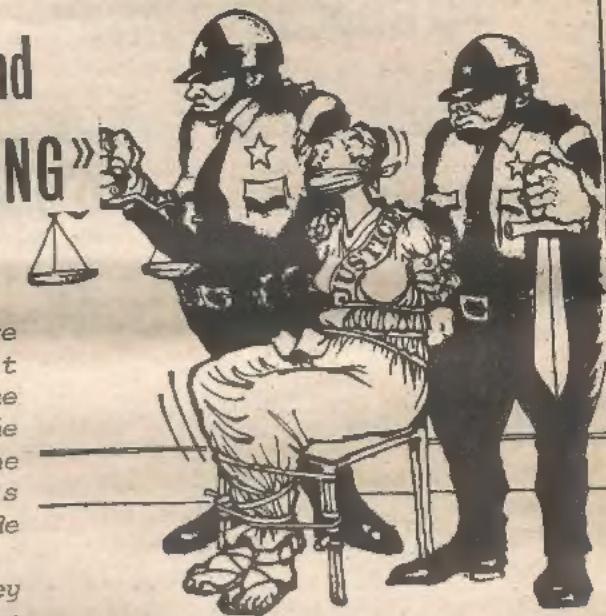
And we won't give that damn factory back!

We'll sabotage state bandaids in our community, take some over, start our own. Our community organizations will be strong and democratic, and we won't

give our community back!

Beginning now, we'll sabotage their ideas, their laws, their police, their roads, their grocery vouchers, their flunkies. We'll sabotage landlords, bureaucrats and bailiffs. We know the people do not want to participate in democracy, they want to be democracy.

«KEEP THE PEACE, BE OF GOOD CONDUCT and REFRAIN FROM PICKETING»



Yuletide committee picketer, Dave Jette, was tried for common assault Monday. The charge arose out of the December 15th picketing inside the Safeway at Gore and Hastings. The picketers were protesting Safeway's very meager donation to the Yuletide community party.

It seemed clear Monday that they were going to make a big case; something of a trial case for big business. Safeway had been prepared for the demonstrators and had a video camera in the store shooting the whole incident.

The prosecutor called three witnesses, all from Safeway; the manager, Hansen, the assistant manager and a Mr. A. J. Plummer, from the Audit and Security department of Safeway. Mr. Plummer, a former RCMP constable, had taken the video tape.

Much emphasis in the prosecution case seemed to be on the picketing. They seemed concerned as to whether Dave had been with the group of picketers asked to leave the store. Whether he had been asked to leave, and why he had left 'slowly' on being told to leave. None of these facts seemed particularly relevant to an assault charge.

The legal point to be contended was whether Dave's intervention between the manager and a demonstrator constituted applying "force intentionally to the person of the other" (section 230 Criminal Code). The point at stake seemed to be whether a group of people could picket inside a supermarket. Possibly it would have been impossible to contest that point directly. As usual, assault, assault PC, causing a disturbance, and obstructing, became the cover-alls to convict people of political crimes in a liberal context.

The trials of the UCWIC demonstrators who sat in at the welfare office is another example of this tactic. During their trial, Judge Bewley, made it clear that in future demonstrators would be charged with assault.

The statements of the judge and prosecutor after the conviction were revealing. The only point the prosecutor chose to make was to quote a legal passage on the purpose of stores and suggest that there was no sanction for entering a store for the purpose of picketing. Johnson (judge) followed this by asking the defense why Dave had been picketing in the Safeway store. Saying that given his education, he should have known that to do so was wrong.

Dave was given a suspended sentence, and one year's probation to 'keep the peace, be of good conduct and refrain

from picketing'. His conviction on an assault charge allowed the court to make picketing an offence punishable as a breach of probation. In case of a breach of probation, he would also be sentenced on the assault charge. A very effective form of social control. The same form as the clause in the probation order for those people convicted of 'technical assault' in the welfare office sit-in which stated that they couldn't take part in any sit-ins. The same also as the typical probation clauses that forbid 'association with known drug addicts', or control freedom of motion 'remain within the city of Vancouver', 'remain outside the city of Vancouver'. In other cases restricting the person from going to Gastown or down to skid row.



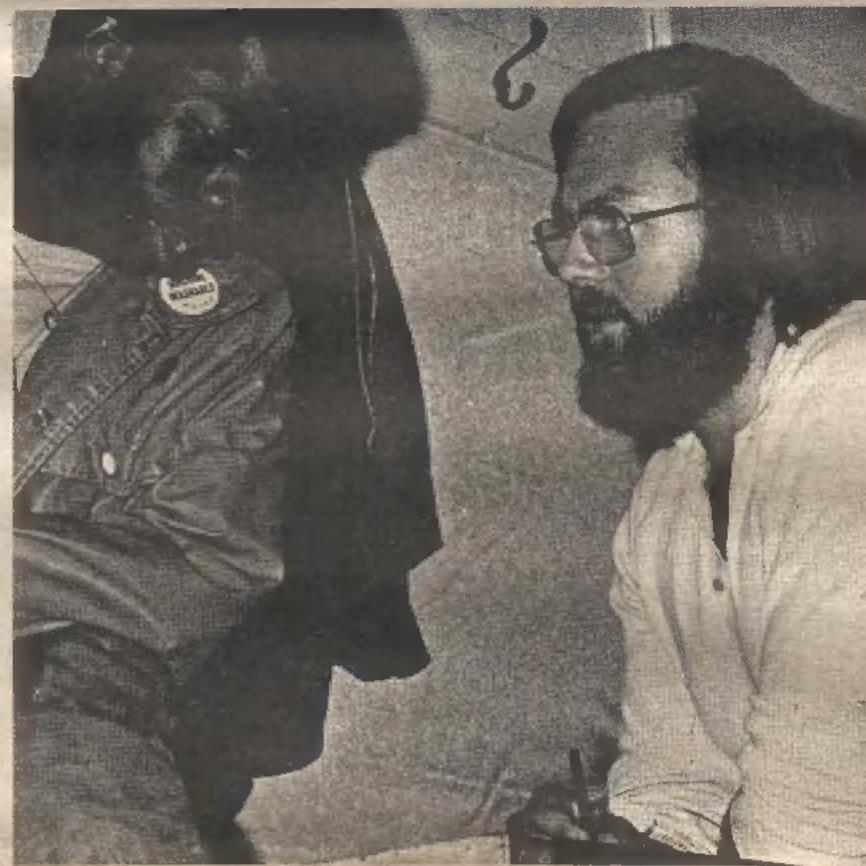
COMMUNITY SWITCHBOARD TO START

The Partisan Party will be opening a SWITCHBOARD in Vancouver, sometime in early February. Switchboard will be many things. First of all, it'll be a phone number. A place where you can call for help in legal, tenant, welfare hassles, or whatever comes up. A place where immediate help is available, with the People's Patrol being dispatched directly from the Switchboard in response to calls. A place where people's organizations in the city can leave dates and times of their meetings, or let us know when they need support at a demonstration or help distributing a leaflet. A place where you can call and find out how you can help support these organizations, get them to support you or just get involved. A place where Survival Information (ie. tenant, welfare, legal, medical) will be available. That's the phone number.

But SWITCHBOARD will be more than just that number. It'll be the beginning of a city wide network -- a phone tree that could put us in touch with hundreds of our brothers and sisters across Vancouver. A communications network and a means of mobilizing support for a project, an action or whatever.

To get the switchboard going and keep it growing requires a lot of people and a lot of work. What's there to do? Make use of the switchboard -- yourself, your collective or organization. Help run it. Provide yourself, your car for a couple of nights a week, your camera to take pictures at a demonstration or volunteer as a photographer. People with a working knowledge of legal, tenants and welfare rights are needed for the Peoples Patrol, as are people with medical skills. If you have these skills already and would like to help out; give us a call. If you don't have those skills but would like to learn, we will be starting a series of comprehensive training classes shortly.

If you'd like to help get the SWITCHBOARD going -- CALL 254-2669



FREE BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

Within a month a free breakfast for children will start at the new site of the Partisan Survival Centre. Mothers, fathers, and children in low-income families know the problems inflicted upon the family by poverty. But nutritionists and professional people are helping the Survival Centre to compile information on nutritional problems. Anemia, protein deficiency and other associated problems are widespread. The symptoms are not always apparent. Frequent colds, high susceptibility to infection, lack of energy are some of them.

Governments whose interests are those of business will never change these conditions. Food costs will always be too high. The problems will never change -- unless people work together. Already interested people have expressed willingness to work on this project -- cooking food, raising money, gathering information and helping to organize.

We need help and we need ideas. For further information, call the Partisan Survival Centre at 253-3613.



Take the Power from Hydro

Rent a suite, an apartment or a house. If you are poor, unemployed, a student, or on welfare and have a bad credit rating or no credit rating, PAY your usual high rate Hydro bill and you may have to PAY an arbitrary \$10.00 to \$100.00 security deposit. When you leave collect the deposit -- but don't collect the interest on it -- Hydro does!

If you do not want to pay or if you want your deposit back or have had any other problems with Hydro, call 253-3613 -- and we'll see what all of us together can do about it.

A Party of a Different Sort

In the past various groups have held Christmas parties, dinners, dances, and other functions for poor and working people. These have been charity functions. Those who have, give tokenly to the "have nots" and do nothing else throughout the year to help change the situation. This year the Greater Vancouver Yuletide Committee, formed by the Partisan Party and members of UCWIC as well as other individuals, wanted to encourage people to organize their own community party. A Christmas party organized by the power of the people.

When we started to organize the party we didn't have any money, we couldn't be sure anyone would come, and we didn't even know where it would be. We had three weeks to plan a party people deserve.

We used two methods of raising the money we needed. The first one was sharing among ourselves. We held a benefit dance on Dec. 11th. and freaks and unemployed gave money to help put on the party. The second and most important method was using our power to demand money from unions, small businesses and large chain stores. Some unions such as the CBRT and the Fisherman's gave large donations and the use of a hall, when we suggested that it is organized labour's responsibility to support the unemployed not only at Christmas but all year through. Small businesses gave because they were afraid of public opinion if they didn't. The large chains also gave for this reason such as Simpson's, Zellers and

Army & Navy. Eatons and Woodward's hedged just long enough not to give a definite reply to make action against them impracticable. The Bay said flatly NO and Safeway offered a miserable pittance of ten dollars.

With this insult sparking our fervor and being told that "welfare people have enough already" we decided to picket Safeway. We produced leaflets explaining that Safeway - the one at Gore and Hastings - was receiving all its business from unemployed people throughout the year and that at Christmas it certainly could afford more than a \$10.00 donation for a community Christmas Party. We demanded 20 turkeys from them. Even though passers-by joined in picketing Safeway managed not to give us anything. What they did do however was frame us with an assault charge and call in the police. The person charged was convicted and given one years probation.

The other store we picketed was the Bay, who has successfully ripped off the people for the last three hundred years! We had leaflets, Santa, his elves and signs saying "The Real Santa doesn't sell toys". The people's Santa confronted the store's Santa and then gave out free toys. We were then told to leave the store by the "Bay's Security Squad."

It's important to realize that when we picketed these stores we were pointing out to the community that they deserve whatever they can get. If our numbers are small we pick up odds and ends, if our numbers are large we take over the stores.

On Saturday, Dec. 18 we had a Christmas Parade. The only one in Vancouver - completely organized by people from the community. Even though fewer people and floats showed up than we had anticipated, the participants enjoyed it and people on the street were friendly. We had a massive police escort. When

half the parade split off and sang carols ("dashing through the store, taking what we need", and others) and blew horns through Eaton's & Woodward's the police took no action. In fact, the police were quite docile as we directed the parade traffic through the downtown streets. It was clear that they had been given orders not to attack or provoke the parade, and given their defeat in Gastown, this is understandable. The action, demonstrated the power of the people.

The party was a success beyond our expectations. The afternoons of both the 23rd and 24th were filled by a children's party with hundreds of children destroying any semblance of order - and enjoying it all the while.

The dinnertimes were unexpectedly crowded - about 1800 people enjoyed turkey dinner during the 2 days. We later found out that the large supper turnout was due to the Alpine Cafe's desire for a little more money. They get paid by welfare for feeding a quantity of single men - whether those men eat there or not - so to make sure they did not eat there they announced our turkey dinner. Oh well! At least the men ate better - even if Alpine made some extra booty.

There was a dance both evenings with some older people added to the usual dance-going youth. It was a great community party.

Next year we'll have an even better one.

PEOPLES' GARAGE And More...

The Partisan Party begins this year with a myriad of tasks. The rapidly declining state of capitalism and subsequent overthrow of the imperialist governing elite clearly points the need for community strength of the people to create an alternate structure, one that serves the peoples needs for food, shelter, health, etc.

To initiate the many programs that will advance these aims we need the material and political support of the people. The type of help you can give depends on your own initiative and resourcefulness.

One thing that many people feel is needed is a alternative to the service station rip-off. The exorbitant theft charged for repairing and re-repairing the planned-obsolescent autos prevents us from obtaining good reliable transportation. And this circle continues another dying strategy to keep the poor...poor.

We can form a Peoples' Garage, one that will serve a definite need, and work against a huge capitalist structure. However many things are needed, mostly a place to locate. If you know of or have a two (or more) car garage free or very cheap and or perhaps some tools, equipment, money, etc. We need mechanics also. Contact the Partisan Party or 254-4374.

In what ways could you contribute? Implementation of our community projects depend on how much resources we can draw on. The childrens free breakfast program, a clinic, peoples garage etc. etc., demand a very great amount of people and materials. Besides that there is administrative costs of paper cars, newspaper, rent, phone and so on forever.

Naturally not everyone can do the same since some are unemployed, on *continued on page 7*



continued from page 6

welfare, or working. If you are unemployed or on welfare you could:

- (1) sell the newspaper
- (2) keep us informed on things happening that could be used
- (3) help organize our peoples' projects.
- (4) let us know of materials i.e. office stuff, money, clothes etc. that could be picked up.

Working people can help by:

- (1) contributing some money each week (any amount) from your pay.
- (2) buying or selling the newspaper (subscribing).
- (3) donate any goods that you have access to.
- (4) help in planning and running projects as much as your time allows.

This is only a general outline of the Party's material needs. What we are trying to do now is find and work with people who are interested in doing direct work to keep the Partisan Party and the community struggle and programs mobile and strong. Resources must be found for carrying these onward. By working for the people you are working for yourselves. Help to liberate. Help to Live.



of the Georgia Straight, including all its assets, debts and holdings and join as an equal member with the entire staff of the Georgia Straight.

On Nov. 29th Dan said "NO". Surprise, surprise! He accused the meeting of being a "kangaroo court", a "star chamber", etc.

From that date until Monday Jan. 17th a negotiating team met regularly with Dan and John Laxton to work out terms under which ownership could be turned over to the collective.

The collective made an offer that Dan retain legal ownership for a 6 month trial period but that during this time he would have no power as owner. The paper would be operated as a co-op and there would be a set of mutually agreed upon performance standards which the co-op would have to meet. These were to be sales, finances, mailing privileges and quality of the paper. If these standards were met, Dan would have to turn over ownership.

Dan Refused even this offer and announced to a staff meeting on Monday, January 17, that he would no longer negotiate and would not consider handing ownership to the collective.

On Wednesday, January 19, early in the morning the people on staff who wanted the paper to be a co-op took over the office and began putting out a paper.

The Georgia "Grape" appeared on the streets on Friday, January 21, after much hassle. Dan threatened the printers with injunctions, cut off the office phones, and intercepted the mail.

The name Georgia "Grape" was adopted because Dan forbade, legally, the use of the name Georgia Straight. He and his supporters published a paper called the Georgia Straight.

From the beginning of the occupation the co-operative offered to negotiate but Dan consistently refused and instead went to the courts.

The Grape proposed that rather than go to the courts, for whom few of us have any respect, a community mediation board be set up. The proposal had four points:

- 1.) The board consist of two people chosen by Dan, two by the Grape, and three mutually agreed upon.

2.) The hearings be public, any person or group wishing to make a presentation be allowed to.

3.) A reasonable deadline be set for the establishment and decision of the board.

4.) Both sides agree to abide by the decision.

In return the Grape was willing to allow McLoed to use the equipment and to distribute his paper from the offices.

The Grape felt that the issue should be settled by the people the paper serves. Dan's answer was that he didn't want to talk about it unless the offices were returned to him.

So as this paper goes to press the Grape is in court awaiting a decision on the injunction. The injunction could go so far as to prohibit anyone from selling, distributing, or publishing the Grape. There are two issues at stake in this struggle. The first is the right of workers to control their work place, and the products of their labour. The Grape people feel they and everyone who has worked on the G.S. over the years are the people who should control the paper.

The legal system provides no protection for those without property. The collective never had a "legal" option to enforce their rights. But Dan, being legal owner, can now send 23 people to jail for taking what is theirs.

Also at stake is the opportunity to create a real community paper in Vancouver. The Grape called a meeting last Sunday night at Inner City to begin the process of transforming the paper. It was quite well attended and people seemed enthusiastic. The Straight has been criticized in the past for failing to meet the needs of the community. It will take involvement and interest of people outside the Grape staff to improve it.

There will be a meeting at 7:00 on Saturday night, Jan. 29th at Fishermans Hall, 138 E. Cordova to talk about the Grape. The meeting will be followed by a big benefit party with three bands. Come and rap and celebrate.

POWER TO THE GRAPE



The Sandringham Private Hospital in Victoria is owned by Russell Shepherd of the British Properties and Jack McGill of Calgary. It is a geriatric institute where old people come to be looked after when they are no longer able to take care of themselves.

Ninety-one terminal care patients are in residence, about one-third of them welfare cases. For a year and a half, 28 nurses aides, the main work force of the hospital have been on strike. The aides who are at present paid \$1.50 an hour - even for those women who have been there for over two years - are not asking for a lot. Their highest wage demand is for a 50¢ increase - to \$2.00 an hour.

It is obvious from the following letter that changes must be made in the system of private hospitals for personal gain.

The following is reprinted from a tabloid put out by the Victoria Local 1311 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) which is representing the dedicated workers at Sandringham.

The Strike Goes On!



Photo JACK PHILLIPS

I, Mrs. D. M. Abolit, registered nurse, of the City of Victoria in the Province of British Columbia do solemnly declare:

I was employed at the Sandringham Private Hospital in the City of Victoria for the period September, 1968, to January, 1970, in the position as superintendent, more commonly called matron. My salary during this entire period was \$500 a month, that is \$9 a month below the basic rate for this position.

My sole reason for volunteering this statement is my belief that I have a duty to the public, the patients, the employees, and my profession to tell the story as I experienced it, and thus help to bring to an end what I know to be a disgraceful mess.

The Sandringham Hospital was built about eight years ago. It is a well laid out modern building. From a physical standpoint there is no reason for it to be inefficient. But there is more to running a geriatric hospital than facilities. There is the question of policy and relationships. And there is the question of supplies. While I was at Sandringham relationships were unbelievably bad and the supply situation scandalous. I believe that this is still the situation. Certainly it was the real reason for the strike by the nurses aides. Here are the details, on the basis of my personal knowledge.

THE ADMINISTRATOR DOMINATES EVERYTHING

The system in effect at Sandringham was as follows. The B.C. Pharmacy, a provincial government agency in Vancouver, dispenses FREE to the hospital all supplies for patients who are on welfare. Sandringham was originally licensed for 75 but this was later extended on a temporary basis to 84. Subsequently it was increased to 91 at the time of the

SANDRINGHAM



Photo by IAN MCKAIN

THE INTOLERABLE WORK LOAD

closing of the Oak Lodge, presumably to allow for some additional welfare patients. When I was at Sandringham the number of welfare patients was 14 out of 84.

The Pharmacy was always generous with our welfare requisitions for supplies. They never unduly questioned us about anything or held anything up. We always received back rubs, green soap, lysol, every type of laxative, baby powder, suppositories and incontinent pads (for "bed wetters") whenever we put in for the fourteen welfare patients.

BUT THIS WAS ALL THE SUPPLIES WE HAD TO RUN THE ENTIRE HOSPITAL, save for the very rare cases when incontinent pads etc. were purchased and charged to individual private patients or when I was occasionally allowed to purchase a few supplies charged to the hospital.

What I am saying is this - the administration attempted to run the hospital for the 70 private patients who paid fees with the free supplies it received from the government for the 14 welfare patients. This is a serious charge, but it is the truth as I experienced it.

THE SUPPLIES SCANDAL

I know for a fact that the shortages were so serious that nurses aides were forced to "hide" what supplies they could get their hands on, so that they would be able to get through their particular shift - to protect them from the other shift so to speak.

From personal experience I know of many nurses aides who even went to the extent of buying such things as baby powder and back rubs out of their own meagre earnings, just so the patients would not go without.

Lysol and green soap were watered down to the point where they were useless.

The incontinent pads (for "bed wetters") were in hopelessly short supply. I know of instances where bedspreads, flannelette gowns and even old clothing were used as substitutes.

WHY THE AIDES ORGANIZED AND WERE FORCED TO STRIKE

The aides I had at Sandringham, many of whom are now on strike, were an excellent bunch. Many of them took home patients' personal clothing for laundering, sewed on buttons, shortened dresses when styles changed, washed and pin-curled hair as extras for patients in order to improve the latter's morale, physical well-being and attractiveness.

I certainly had no complaints whatsoever about their work and dedication. In spite of this they were indiscriminately fired by the administrator. Moreover, the administrator was so spiteful that when she heard that the aides got jobs elsewhere she would phone up the new employers and let them know she had fired the aides from Sandringham.

THE INTOLERABLE WORK LOAD

At Sandringham there are no practical licensed nurses for each of the three wings. In my opinion these positions are necessary in order to insure proper care for the patients. Failure to provide this intermediate level of responsibility places a heavy burden on the aides. At Sandringham an aide has 8 to 10 patients on the average. A more normal load is four or five, the number handled by nurses in ordinary hospitals. Incontinent patients, who make up half those resident at Sandringham, have to be completely changed and dressed on the average 6 to 8 times in every 24 hours - some even as high as 14 times. Consequently each aide has to look after 4 incontinent patients about 3 times per shift. In order to do this they must know a good deal about body mechanics, how to lift and position people properly, since the patients simply cannot change themselves.

Despite the intolerable work load the aides were paid "miserably," and these are the words of the administrator herself, as quoted in the daily press. But worse, they were belittled, they were spied on, they were arbitrarily changed from one shift to another, given impossible tasks. If they took good care and paid careful attention to a patient, they were rebuked by the administrator.

Why do people continue to work under the conditions I have described? The answer is that we regard the job as a challenge and we really care for the plight of these infirm, elderly patients under our care. We have often been told by others we are crazy to remain. But we think it is better to stick it out as long as there is any possibility of change.

In my own case, I was told by the administrator that the management desired my resignation.

There is no question in my mind that the aides formed an organization out of a dire necessity to assert their rights as individuals, to try to establish an elementary level of human dignity, so that they would not be crushed psychologically. Organization into a trade union was primarily an act of self-defense. Once they made this stand, swift retaliation followed. It is on the public record that unlawful dismissals took place, and rehirings were ordered by the Labor Relations Board. But the administrator-management-owner trio refused to recognize the fact that their employees were entitled to any rights at all. The company and its various agents refused outright to negotiate a contract which would spell out wages and job conditions.

The aides went through every section and sub-section of the B.C. Labor Relations Act to try to bring about discussions and an agreement. The company adamantly refused to communicate. Consequently the aides had no recourse but to strike.

Mrs. D. M. Abolit (RN)
former Sandringham Matron

THE PARTISAN PARTY, Part I : STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES

The Partisan Party is a revolutionary communist organization with strategic perspective of organizing the proletariat in their own communities, uniting the working class to take control over their own lives by weakening the state and building and defending alternate means of survival. Through developing mass democratic organizations to undermine the state, to resist its offensives, and to provide an alternate power structure, the proletariat will acquire the unity and experience necessary to eventually take state power.

Recently the Partisan Party has undergone a period of upheaval, due mainly to a lack of an accepted basis for evaluating work among Party members. The program of the Partisan Party has grown out of a year of practice in community organizing, but until now the underlying strategy and the program itself have not been stated explicitly. It is on the basis of the documents emerging from the recent struggle that the Partisan Party is rebuilding.

This article and one in the next issue of *THE PARTISAN* summarize these fifty pages of Party documents. The current article gives the strategic principles under which the Partisan Party operates, while the next one will cover the Underground and the ideology, structure, and program of the Party. The purpose of this series is to give an overview of the Party's strategy and program to people interested in working with the Party or in doing community organizing themselves. The theoretical sections in particular have had to be highly condensed, but these topics will be covered in depth in separate articles in subsequent issues of *THE PARTISAN*. *THE PARTISAN* welcomes principled debate on the Party's strategy and program, and will publish and respond to such contributions from its readers.

I: STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE

We start with the understanding that at this historical point the primary conflict in the world is not between competing imperialist powers, but between all of the imperialist forces as organized by the United States, and the constantly growing socialist forces. The fight in defense of capital is not necessarily waged where the capital is invested (Western Europe, Canada, Japan, etc.), but rather may be fought in other countries where the loss of Imperialism's advanced position could represent a dangerous threat to the areas further back. Strategically, this analysis means that we must build a strong, international united front of socialist forces in order to defeat global imperialism.

In North America the primary contradiction is between the imperialist state apparatus and the internal colonies, such as Quebec and the Black nation, whose liberation struggles are increasingly being led by socialists. As a whole, whites in the metropolis benefit from the exploitation of the colonies; for them, privilege is a material reality, and we must organize a material alternative to it that is superior and not based on the ideology of privilege (i.e., fascism and racism). Even poor whites are relatively well off compared to their counterparts in the colonies, but their "privilege" has dwindled drastically, and more and more white people are suffering the effects of an overextended capitalist system. How can revolutionaries in the metropolis and in the colonies support one another in their common struggle for socialism?

Some groups in the metropolis, such as Weatherman, define their practical relationship to the anti-imperialist struggles of the world as one of primarily military support for the "Third World" from within the belly of the monster. Their largely symbolic bombings, divorced from effective, mass political organizing, have made no constructive material change in the power relationships between the people and the State, nor have they presented material mass models of the alternative to the capitalist system. Other groups see their role as giving support to the colonies through sending money and supplies or by holding periodic demonstrations.

The single outstanding characteristic of all these positions is the petit-bourgeois guilt that limits the relationship of revolutionaries working in the metropolis to one of "support" for revolutionaries working in the colonies. ("Support" used in this way means allowing the level of struggle in the colonies to define the level of struggle or the work of revolutionaries in the metropolis.) It is clear that if we are serious about the strategy of building an international front of so-

cialist forces we have to come up with a new strategic perspective that builds real rather than symbolic working relationships between all socialist revolutionaries.

Our theory and work is based on such a perspective. We regard liberated areas in the anti-imperialist struggle as base areas in a developing global revolution. We regard the internal colonies in North America, specifically the Black nation and Quebec, as base areas in a continental revolution. However, we realize that we can not be assimilated into the struggles in the base areas and that very few of us could work in them as revolutionaries in any capacity.

Mass political unification plus urban guerilla warfare will secure the internal colonies as the strongest liberated zones inside North America. It is up to revolutionaries in the metropolis to maximize on these conditions, even to help bring them about, in order to further strengthen and build their own struggle. If one thing is clear, it is that nobody is going to win alone. This is especially true within North America itself.

How can revolutionaries in the metropolis build and defend the base areas? Precisely by making the revolution at home. We recognize that areas of the continent will have different growth rates and that they will take different political directions to maximize on the possible political strength of the people. We recognize that it would be incorrect and unrealistic to try and form a political coalition of revolutionaries from the colonies and the metropolis. Nevertheless, certain working relationships are possible right away. Definite products are obtainable.

The most obvious one is to do propaganda which explicitly explains and refines the struggles of the continent as they progress. Another is to do political/military organizing to demonstrate the possibilities of continental liberation based on shared understandings of it. By solid work and analysis we can say with truth and demonstrate to the proletariat of the metropolis that the Black Panther Party and FLQ are a good thing. We can show how they help weaken the state that oppresses us all. We can show the means by which we can all throw off the economic and political yoke placed on us.

The FLQ gives us the time and space to organize in Vancouver. When they distract the state, we can organize that certain working relationships requiring strategic and tactical unity are necessary to do these things.

We need to build the means to liberate all the people of this continent. The FLQ and the Panthers are showing us the way by influencing and giving leadership to the building of unique revolutionary forms that respond to the needs of their own communities and build their maximum political strength. In order to give revolutionary support we need to create the forms that will do the same things for our communities.



II: THE CENTRE FOR ORGANIZING

It should be pretty clear to everybody that we are not yet in a situation of People's War in the metropolis. People's War can be recognized by a number of factors:

- (1) a mass of the people united behind the need for revolutionary change and engaged in revolutionary struggle in one way or another;
- (2) enough political and strategic unity among revolutionaries to make possible the formation of at least a united front, if not a party, that has the active support of the mass of the people;
- (3) the existence of a real people's army.

Given that we are not there yet, our immediate strategic objective should be to get there from the pre-People's War stage as soon as possible. The job which must be done involves:

- (1) demonstrating to the people that they can only meet their needs by fighting and winning a revolutionary class war;
- (2) demonstrating to the people that they can indeed win such a war;
- (3) providing political and military leadership to that struggle;
- (4) forming the embryo of the people's state and developing that through struggle;
- (5) forming the embryo of the people's army and developing that through struggle;
- (6) mobilizing the people's army in support and defense of the people's state, and arming the people under communist leadership.

That's all.

The primary task all along the line is one of education, education as to the precise class nature of this system and education around the possibilities of building a new social order which truly serves the people. Power and control are the keys. Who presently has power, who now controls, and what can be done to reverse those class relationships. The question is, how do we educate?

When Marx, Lenin, and others were organizing early proletarian struggles, they chose the work place, the point of production, as the main classroom, the center of education and organizing. This was not a principled decision on their part, but rather was a tactical one, based on the social reality of their time.

In 1972 the situation is qualitatively different. In the metropolis, the work place is controlled by what are now bureaucratic trade unions which instead of organizing resistance, actually mediate for capital. A relatively high level of privilege is evident among organized labor. The developing economic crisis has begun to produce some new resistance, but so far it has been primarily a struggle to regain and retain economic "privilege" and is basically racist and pro-imperialist in so far as it does not politically involve itself in questioning and fighting the source of that privilege.

These considerations apply far less to unorganized workers, constituting some 2/3 of the working class in North America. With them the basic problem is organizing low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled workers who in case of "labor conflict" can readily be replaced by members of the huge army of unemployed maintained by capitalism for just this purpose. For unorganized as

well as for organized workers, the limitations of the work place itself do not make it the best place to center organizing during this historical period. However, we still can involve workers as workers in our campaigns and programs, making sure that production and political struggles around the means of production serve the class.



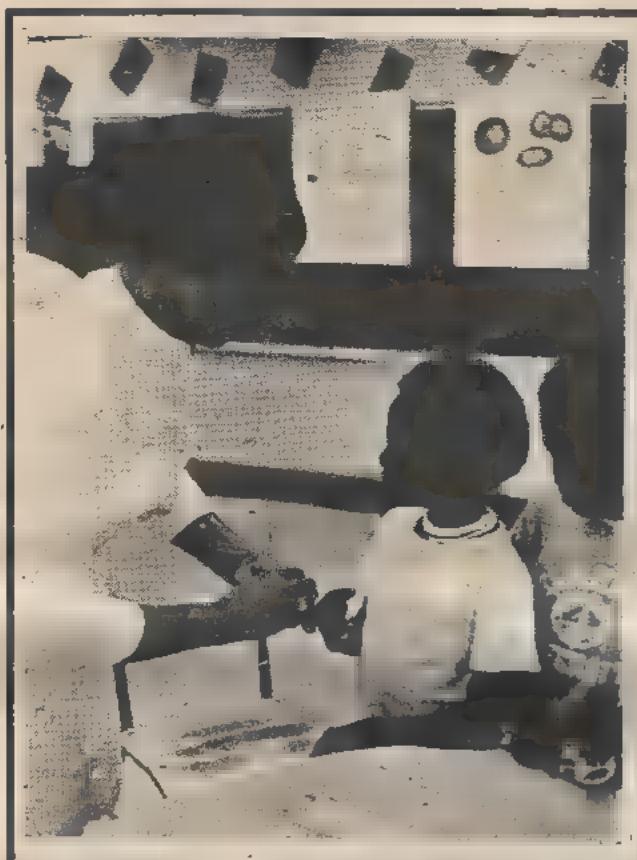
DEMONSTRATION AGAINST GAGLIARDI THE CORRUPT

The center is now the community for a number of reasons. First of all, it is the place where repression and oppression are the most unmediated. There are no bureaucratic institutions equivalent to trade unions which mediate between the people and the ruling class. Police harassment and brutality, welfare fraud squads, skyrocketing prices, poor health care, repression in the schools, and urban renewal are all day-to-day facts of life. The economic gains made on the job are devoured by taxes.

Secondly, individual and organized resistance is growing with the formation of welfare, low income, and consumer groups, tenants' unions, and citizens' committees to fight freeways, urban renewal, etc. Thirdly, the community is the place where all elements of the proletariat live side by side, and contradictions can be resolved by organizing around common interests. Labor aristocracy, working poor, unemployed, welfare recipients, national minorities, of all ages, both women and men can be drawn together in the struggle for community control and the building of the alternate power structure. It is here that revolutionaries can be trained and mobilized to organize the work place and anywhere else to serve the people.



Organizing militant resistance to state fascist offensives in the community, and developing that resistance into an alternate power structure, an embryonic People's Government, this we propose is the primary strategic direction for revolutionary organizing at this time. It is our task to mobilize people to transform their struggles to this direction. To a degree this can be done through working with and influencing existing groups that are struggling in the community, encouraging them in their fight for the needs of the community and drawing out from their experiences the lessons that point toward the necessity for mass democratic structures to fully meet the community's needs. Revolutionaries should also act as catalysts, drawing these groups together whenever possible so that a practical, working unity can be developed among organizers.



Panthers Medical Program

III: COMMUNITY ORGANIZING-GENERAL

The transformation of the present struggles in the community will require direct, exemplary organizing on our part, the creation of survival programs which meet the real and perceived needs of the community. As many of the human and material resources of the community as possible should be drawn into the organization, operation, and consolidation of these economic alternatives. On this economic base direct democratic political structures can be built.

Because such programs will meet the needs of the community better than whatever programs the state has set up to perform similar functions, they will gain support and influence in the community. Many people who formerly made use of the state programs will turn to them. The people's programs will be able to draw away many of the resources of the community that the state formerly made use of. Thus the programs will be able to draw more and more resources under their control and grow.

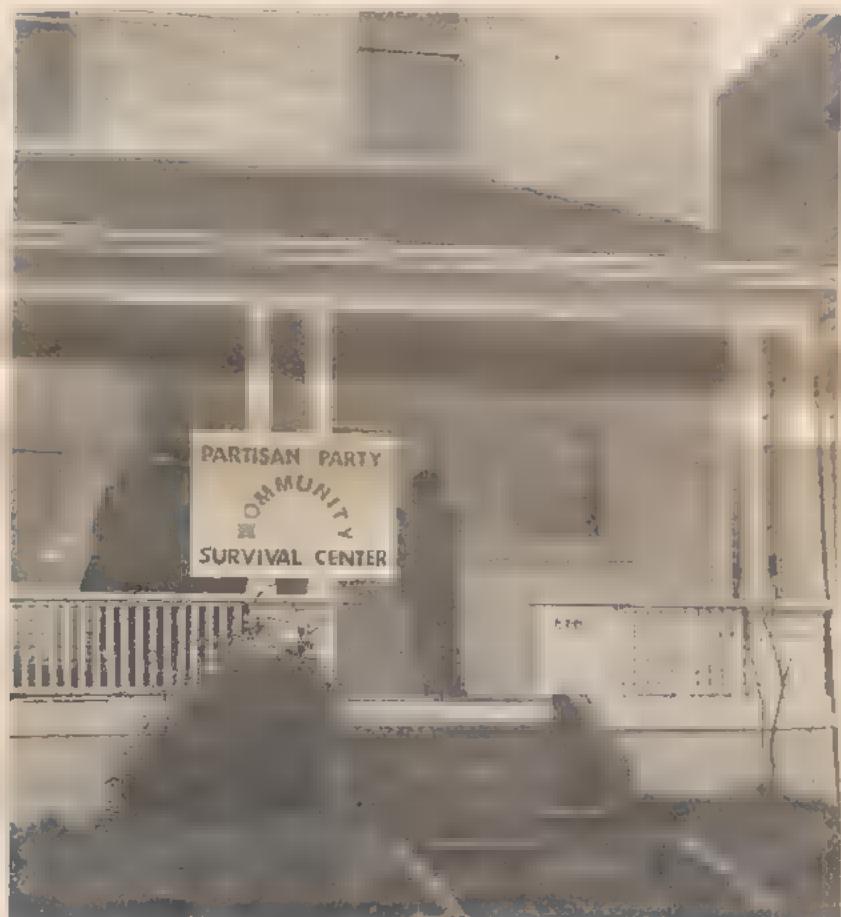
The difference between such programs and a charitable service is that they are controlled and operated by the people of the community. They cannot just be services performed for the people by others. They must be educational in that they teach people from the community the organizational and leadership skills necessary for reversing the present power relationships and taking their lives under their own control. Such programs are tactics in the people's ongoing struggle to meet their needs better. In organizing in the community, however, we must avoid two major errors: advocating the idea that we can replace or change the institutions of the state without smashing it; and organizing the people as political, social, or economic units without organizing them as units of struggle, resistance, and defense.

Action groups and community survival programs are only part of the picture, though. They provide vehicles for organized resistance and prove in practice that we can unite to meet our own needs better than the state can, but they are not yet an alternative to the state. The state does service definite functions. It coordinates economic activities to a certain extent even under capi-

talism. It mediates in disputes. It provides a peace-keeping force. And even though the bourgeois state carries out all these activities in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the people know it, most people are not going to participate in its destruction unless there is a better alternative. And not simply a theoretical alternative, but a practical one they have experienced and trust. This is why, founded on the militancy and the economic base of action groups and survival programs, we have to organize the embryo of the people's state, the provisional revolutionary government.

Diagrammatically, such an organization is easy to lay out, although its practical realization will require an immense amount of initiative, struggle, and patience. It is based on the Black Panther Party's 10-10-10 program which they in turn derived from the work of the FLN in Algeria. The basic political unit is the community committee which is made up primarily of activists and militants from a given community's action groups and survival programs. This committee is elected democratically and governs the revolutionary life of the community. In the beginning, it will most coordinate programs and community activities, but as it builds its own base its functions will expand into areas such as policing, taxation, etc.

Ten such community units would select representatives and send them to a district body which would serve as coordinator and activator for the whole district. Ten such district councils would send representatives to a higher body, and so on. The number 10, of course, is arbitrary and the size of the units will have to be determined through practice, but this is the basic principle.



The relationship of this embryonic state to different movements and interest groups such as labor unions, student groups, women's federations, etc. will be to make demands on them to serve the people, and thus integrate themselves into the larger struggle for political and economic control. The limitations of the labor movement, for instance, its economist self-interest, can be productively challenged by an organized community in which class lines are being more clearly defined all the time. Unions should be forced to move beyond merely acting in their own economic interests, a situation which will become more and more reactionary as the economic crisis deepens, to acting in the political and economic interests of the entire community.

Our organizing will go through the following three phases:

- (1) The phase of persuasion -- In this phase it will only be possible for us to implement models of a socialist political, economic and social alternative. These will mostly be educational in nature. People will either see examples of or participate in new working and economic relationships. They will learn various forms of resistance necessary to defend themselves from the state day by day. It will be impossible in this stage to replace the major institutions of capitalism. The 10-10-10



Now He Understands The Game

Solidarity, November 11, 1916.



program cannot be completed in this stage beyond exemplary models that are community-wide or city-wide. The people will not be strong enough and the state will be too strong. However, the practical roots for the program will be laid by unified and ongoing acts of resistance by increasing numbers of people.

(2) The phase of compulsion -- In this stage the people will have the tactical and strategic ability to re-place certain state institutions. However, the political, social and economic relationships will still be primarily based on the organization of resistance. Such organiza-tion will not be of the model or exemplary type generally. It will rather reflect the increasing strength of the people to disorganize the state and the necessity of a class unity to survive and build the alternative in the face of constant harassment from the dying beast. The 10-10-10 program will have this character.

(3) The phase of direction -- In this phase the state will have no power of institutional control. The people will therefore be free to use their structures not primarily for resistance but primarily for betterment of their lives materially with a communist direction in everything. The work will have just begun.

We are now in the first phase. What this means is that we can as a party support anything that educates the people as to the possibilities to be gained in organizing themselves to resist the state. We have one simple test of our effectiveness, based on that outlined by Lenin in 1918 for the Soviets: "To what extent does the development of the co-operatives approach the state when they will comprise the whole population?" In our case, of course, we have also got to resist the state as a day-to-day priority in our lives.

IV: COMMUNITY ORGANIZING-SPECIFIC

The Partisan Party does not claim to be a (or the) vanguard party. There can be no vanguard party at this point in the North American struggle, simply because the struggle has not developed to a point where a single analysis and strategy has been objectively established as the best practical route to revolution. Given that there is no revolutionary mass of the people, how can there be a vanguard which leads them? And when such a revolutionary mass does develop, it will be they themselves who decide which is the vanguard party, by choosing to follow the leadership that best serves them.

On the other hand, the Partisan Party does engage in vanguard organizing, which flows from correct politics. Vanguard organizing involves correctly analyzing the objective and subjective conditions at any given time and being able to carry through organizing one step ahead of the people based on that analysis. It means being capable of providing that step-by-step leadership. Mao sum-

med it up when he talked about "From the people, to the people." It is possible to develop this kind of organizing ability by developing a good analysis and strategy, and a practice firmly based on them.

The Partisan Party is organizing the working class in the metropolis on the basis of their material oppression, rather than through an appeal to petit-bourgeois guilt over having "privilege" relative to the colonies. People become revolutionaries because they believe they can win and that winning will be the only material solution to their problems; they do not become revolutionaries out of guilt feelings or sympathy for colonized peoples. Every successful people's war has been constructed on this recognition. The most dedicated fighters are not those guilted into fighting for an abstract moral imperative, but those who know they are fighting for their own survival.

In community organizing, material incentive is primary and moral incentive secondary. The Party's main objective is education, the raising of mass, class consciousness and the creation of organizational forms and strategic direction which will mean victory. Primarily, we educate by demonstration, by action, by victory, by showing what we can build together. Secondarily, we educate people to the greater ideas behind these products. The ideological basis of unity between the Party and the people it works with is based on three points: 1) can we work together, 2) can we learn together, and 3) can we progressively implement the Party's politics and strategies together.

The Partisan Party rejects cultural organizing of "strategic sectors" of the working class in place of organizing on the basis of the material oppression of the entire proletariat. Youth and women, for example, have distinctive structural roles within the working class. Both sectors are among the first moving to provide rational leadership that will integrate these sectors into the class, resolving the contradictions that split it, and leading it in its anti-fascist struggle. As members of a class, however, their basic interests coincide with those of other members of the class.

A revolutionary organization must define its constituency as the largest group of people sharing a common primary oppression. To address the primary contradiction of material oppression, the constituency must include all those who share that material oppression as their primary form of oppression. It is correct within that framework to address the specific oppression of youth, women, gays, old people, and so forth, both in propaganda and in organizing.



V: ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES

The primary tasks of this period are consolidating revolutionaries and setting them to work in proletarian communities building resistance and organizing material alternatives to the present system. Hence, the Partisan Party has the following three priorities for its work: consolidating revolutionaries, building material alternatives, and influencing spontaneous resistance.

1) Consolidating revolutionaries. This is always the primary task in any given period, for the more politically conscious, ideologically sound organizers available, the wider the net can be thrown, the deeper the struggle can be developed. Especially now with state fascism developing more every day, it is important not to depend primarily on mobilizing liberal or "progressive, peace-loving" support for the revolutionary struggle, for such support will be smashed at the first sign of a serious fascist offensive. If we are to develop a strong revolutionary struggle it can only be done by drawing out and consolidating conscious revolutionaries based on clarifying and heightening class contradictions.

For example, this was the Partisan Party strategy when the government tried to pin a conspiracy rap on us during the Gastown Inquiry. Rather than playing down our role in the community or, on the other hand, screaming about fascism to the middle classes, we instead addressed the people saying, yes, we are revolutionaries, these are our programs, they are serve-the-people programs, what's so wrong with them? Why is the government so terrified? Based on an appeal for revolutionary support, we won that struggle and consolidated some people in the process.

The revolutionaries whom the Partisan Party shall be consolidating will come from all classes. The basis for judging a revolutionary is his or her practice, not class background. Of course, the bulk of revolutionaries will come from the lower classes, but we must consolidate support and resources as much as possible from other classes.

2) Building material alternatives. This is simply the implementation of the 10-10-10 program mentioned previously.

3) Influencing spontaneous resistance. With the state tightening control over people's lives, the continued deterioration of the economic situation, and the idea of collective resistance spreading, outbreaks of spontaneous resistance will become more and more frequent. These outbreaks usually involve the outpouring of people's frustrations against the agents and symbols of their oppression, but are often directionless, result in unnecessary arrests, and even do harm to our own communities. During the Gastown incident, for example, you could walk down some streets and see little corner stores that had been badly damaged while right next door Woodwards stood virtually untouched.

It is possible through the mobilization of different people's groups, through printed propaganda and general mass work to collectivize a minimal level of political and military knowledge that will maximize the political direction of spontaneous resistance, cut down on busts and injuries and create a situation where people can be consolidated from these outbreaks into doing ongoing work in building the struggle in the community.

There is no such thing as a principled tactic. Any tactic which serves to further these three priorities is okay and that means anything from participation in elections and handing around petitions to boycotting stores to occupying buildings to demonstrating in the streets.

There are three general organizational techniques which can help us define and refine specific tactics: controls penetration, and circle within a circle. Control involves direct organizing; it refers to the projects and programs started by the Party and under its direct control. Penetration involves working with existing organizations and influencing their strategy and tactics. By penetration we do not mean the old CP (Revisionist) trick of joining other groups secretly and then taking control of them. This is dangerous and counterproductive in that it depends on manipulation rather than on persuasion and education. We mean simply developing good working relationships within which persuasion can go on.

The third organizational technique is circle within a circle. This technique involves operating as a disciplined unit within a larger group, implementing pre-People's War strategy within the context of a larger group of people who may not share that strategy, but with whom specific working relationships have been developed in order to achieve specific objectives.

For instance, electoral campaigns may offer possibilities for circle within a circle work. Within a broad front of community organizers with different tendencies but united around a specific objective of, say, getting in the ward system, it would be possible for revolutionaries to organize ongoing struggle groups in communities that might otherwise be unavailable to them, to clarify class lines through propaganda, to come into contact with many people who could be consolidated as revolutionaries, etc.

In working with other organizations the Partisan Party follows a non-sectarian line: its relations with other groups are based on working agreements to provide shared practice, not on principled struggle which is necessarily abstract. This allows us to take part in programs, which although they are merely reformist by themselves, can be part of a revolutionary action program in the context of a party leading them to build militant popular community organizations, educating the people, and consolidating the militants into the Party. Furthermore, it is senseless to exclude on abstract political grounds opportunist groups like the Trotskyites when their behavior in coalitions they can't control will educate other participants as to the true nature of their politics.

At the present time, the Partisan Party follows the mass line of a strategic defensive (e.g. legal rights, survival programs) combined with a tactical offensive (e.g. "take a cop to court", boycotts, People's Patrols). The reason for this is that the current relation of forces greatly favors the state, and we are forced to react to their initiatives. That reaction will under most circumstances be defensive, as it was during the Gastown Inquiry. That is, we will defend ourselves from attack, buying time for our community work rather than committing our resources in an offensive battle with the state which only they can win at this time. Later, because of the educational work we are doing now through community organizing, the consciousness of the proletariat will be qualitatively changed, and with it, the relation of forces.



On The Correct Handling of the Alphabet

Late in November of 1971, the Partisan Party went through some internal troubles that resulted in several people leaving. Since then various rumours and stories about what happened have drifted back to us through the grapevine, many of which look very little like the reality that we experienced at that time. Included in the stories is repeated talk of a "political split".

Now, it's not, and never has been our style to go around digging up old bodies and dragging them around, and we don't plan to start doing that now. Telling bitter stories about people that you used to work closely with is fairly childish and unproductive. However, the struggle that went on at that time did produce some new and valuable understandings for those who stood by the politics of the Party, and we feel that it is important to lay out those understandings and generally try to clarify how we view the events of November politically.

First of all, we do not view what happened as a split. A split only happens when there are two distinct political lines in conflict, two different ideas about what to do that simply can't live together any more. When that situation arises and one group leaves to begin its own organizing then you have a political split. In our situation, however, the people who left were not a group and had no distinct political line, not even individually. Even later, when those of us who stayed wrote a position paper and asked the others to come discuss it and present their own positions, there was no response. We can only assume either that they had no positions or that they didn't care enough about them to try and organize around them. But if there was no split, no political differences, how do we explain the very real fact that nearly 10 people left en masse?

Our understanding of it now is that the reason was not political, it was ideological. By that we mean that the people didn't leave because they had different plans, strategies or analyses, they left because they had different world outlook, their ideas about the world were basically different than those who stayed. (Ideology is the underlying system of ideas and concepts which a person or group uses to express and attain their interests. It's what we want, what we believe). The general ideology that those who left shared was idealism, or thinking, in terms of perfect ideals rather than reality.

The idealism of the defectors took two main forms: (1) the demand for perfect socialist social and political relationships at this time, and (2)

the demand for a perfect socialist program and / or project that would solve all the material problems of reality, even those we haven't encountered yet. Suppose you're at "A" and want to get to "Z". Well, an idealist of the first type ignores "B" "C", "D", etc., and tries to make "A" into "Z". An idealist of the second type looks everywhere for a letter that will stand for all the letters between "B" and "Y" so he can get through the whole alphabet at 1 shot. Of course you can't make an "A" into a "Z" and there is no such letter that will stand for the whole alphabet. There is only one way to get from "A" to "Z" and that's to start with "B" and work your way thru slowly and patiently. Somebody who can't understand that in their day to day work is bound to flip out. And that's what happened.

Part of the problem was that at that time the Partisan Party had no method, no ruler, by which to measure our progress from "A" to "Z". We had the beginnings of a strategy, but it was still pretty vague in detail. It was pretty hard to look at something you had done and think, "that fits in to making the revolution in such and such a way, and was a success in these terms and a failure in these terms and in order to do better I have to change it this way."

Coming out of the defections of November, however, we now have the measure that will work for this particular time: Sabotage. There is no perfect program. But there are programs that, for a given period of time, will help advance the struggle of the people to a higher level. During this period, our primary concern is to destroy the power that fascist institutions hold over the people so that we can more effectively build the power of the people. The patient, day to day attack on their institutions in big ways and little ways and whatever ways you

can find, meanwhile organizing people into ongoing people's organizations, that's our program for now. It will get us at least from "A" to "D", and then we'll take another look and see if we can't come up with a better program to fit the new circumstances.

We also understand that in the midst of a social order created by the capitalists to serve their interests, there is no way to build perfect social and political relationships. For instance, you can't expect Skeena the Whale to act like a normal whale while she's locked up in a concrete pond in Stanley Park. She needs a wide open ocean. That pond has everything in the world to do with defining the way she thinks and the way she acts. The same is true for us. Every day we bump into the walls the ruling class has built around us, and that makes us act in certain ways and it always will as long as we remain in those walls. We may have some vague ideas about what it is to be free, but we won't make them real by pretending that the walls aren't there. The only way we can do it is by holding those ideas in mind and beginning to chip away. With a hammer and a chisel. At a real wall. In other words, there is a real, material world that largely defines how we act and think and relate to each other, and if we want to change those things, we have to start by changing the world. Sabotage is our hammer and very real way of beginning that change, the first step on the road to freedom.

These are some of the basic understandings that we gained from our struggles around what happened in November. We now have a measure that will work for us. And moreover, among those who remained committed to working through problems one by one as they come, there is a renewed commitment to dealing with material reality and social fact and to serving the people, body and soul.



Bohemian machine-breakers. 1844. In Europe, wherever the machine was introduced into the system of production there was violent reaction against it. Here weavers, among those directly threatened by the machine - destroy their 'most immediate' enemy.



INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

PAKISTAN:

THE ROOTS OF THE STRUGGLE

In 1947, British Imperialism, in collusion with Hindu and Muslim reactionaries partitioned the Indian sub-continent into two countries. Pakistan with a western and eastern wing was for the Muslims; India was for the Hindus. This was done in order to divide the people along religious lines and thus make their liberation more difficult. Down through the years this separation has been used to great advantage by both nations in order to suppress revolution and consolidate their rule. The current upheaval is probably the best example of this practise.

In order to understand the present crisis and particularly the behavior of the Indian Government it is necessary to go back to March of 1967.

Naxalbari is a rural district between the borders of Nepal and what was East Pakistan. It is situated in the Indian province of West Bengal. (see map) In March of 1967 a land seizure by armed peasants was followed by a total liberation of the district. A people's government was set up and people's law and order reigned. Since this time a spectre has been haunting the Indian ruling class -- the spectre of a liberated West Bengal that could spark a revolution throughout India.

In December 1970, a scant three and a half years later, these revolutionaries (referred to as Naxalites), claimed that armed agrarian revolution was involving some ten million people and that India would be liberated during the decade of the 1970's!

In early 1971 armed uprisings had spread to every district of West Bengal province and was rapidly spreading to India's other provinces.

While the actual number of people participating in the revolutionary uprisings is hard to measure and therefore disputable, the extent and effectiveness of these uprisings can be seen if one examines a very reliable barometer -- the reactions of the Indian ruling class. But before looking at Indira Gandhi's actions, let's look at what was happening in East Pakistan during that same time period.

Pakistan had developed along unequal lines since its inception. The eastern sector with its tremendous jute crop was and remained a supplier of raw materials. The western sector of Pakistan developed the processing industries and was the business center. The Pakistani ruling class had used the proceeds of the jute crops and the massive foreign aid from the U.S. to industrialize the western sector while maintaining the feudal economy of the eastern sector. This increasing exploitation of the workers and peasants of the east gave rise to a revolutionary movement that was growing very rapidly.

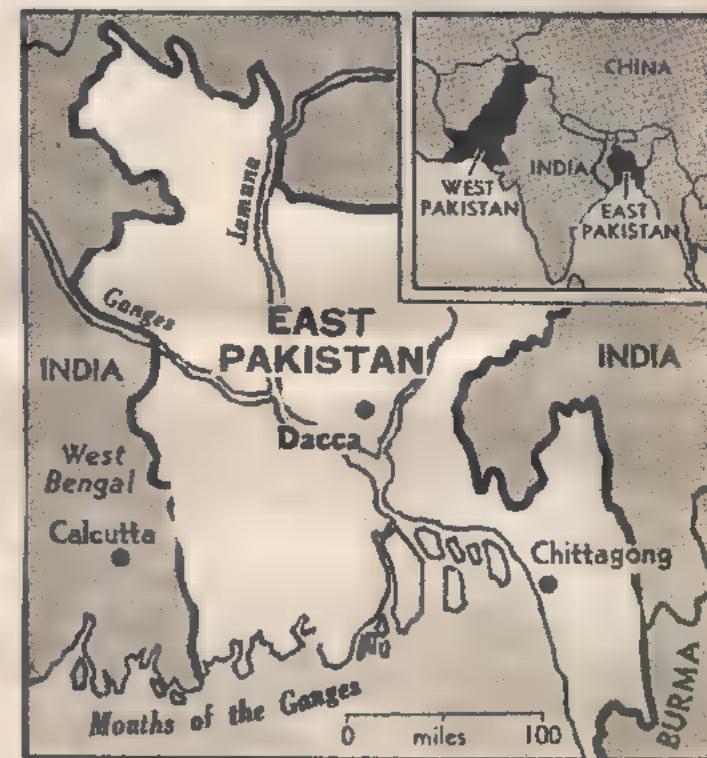


Indian troops on border patrol

The uneven development in Pakistan was reinforced and maintained by overvaluing their currency. Roughly speaking, it worked like this: a jute farmer would sell his crop to the world market and receive foreign exchange. The foreign exchange would be taken to the bank and Pakistani currency that he received would be worth -- on the world market -- approximately 50% of the foreign exchange. Thus the peasants of the east were exploited by the Pakistani ruling class.

The people's liberation struggle has gone along two lines. There have been electoral struggles and armed agrarian warfare. In December of 1970, the Awami League, a middle class political party, won an election on the basis of a federal system of two different sections of Pakistan with either two different currencies or one currency with measures taken to prevent flight of capital from East to West Pakistan.

The election was held in a country that was ravaged by a cyclone and floods. The tremendous damage and loss of life combined with the presence of British, U.S., and Soviet troops hardly facilitated a democratic election. In fact, even though there



was a tremendous liberation struggle happening, only 43% of the electorate voted. The election victory reflected the desire of a considerable section of the East Pakistani bourgeois and petit-bourgeois classes. The bulk of the peasants and the revolutionary forces did not take part.

Along with the electoral struggle, there was widespread agrarian revolution developing. Peasants, under revolutionary leadership were confiscating land and redistributing it. People's courts were being set up and were administering justice. This activity was being led mostly by the small but well-organized Maoist Party, the East Pakistani Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), who had the foresight to see the coming conflict and went underground. By March 15, 1971 this agrarian revolution had spread to twelve districts in East Pakistan and had reactionaries from Yahya Khan to Mujibar Rahman shaking in their boots.

The West Pakistani ruling class was split on what they should do about the East Pakistan revolution. The economic elite and government bureaucracy wanted to recognize the Awami League and negotiate with their leader -- Mujibar Rahman. They were familiar with Mujibar and didn't fear him, after all he had been quoted as echoing their own fears.

"Why won't the West Pakistan government realize that I am the only one that can save East Pakistan from communism? If they decide to fight I will be removed from power and the Naxalites (he was referring to the East Pakistan revolutionaries -- ed.) will intervene."

The other component of the West Pakistan ruling class, the military elite, had other ideas. The army, who had been fed on a diet of racism for years in order to justify the exploitation of East Pakistan (Bengalis) wanted to wipe out the Awami League secessionists. The contradiction between the two groups seesawed back and forth but in the end the military won. On March 23, the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Trade advised Yahya Khan to accept Mujibar's demand for regional autonomy. Yahya cut off negotiations with the Awami League and flew back to Islamabad. On March 25, 1971, the Pakistani army launched a brutal blitzkreig against the supporters of the Awami League. Hundreds of thousands of Bengalis



Pakistani soldiers fire a mortar.

were killed, there was widespread looting and raping and many more fascist atrocities were committed. The political nature of the army blitzkreig was clear, for the slaughter was primarily directed against the petit-bourgeois support of the Awami League.

This counter-revolutionary civil war gave fuel to an already raging peasant revolution. The people's war was growing more intense in East Pakistan and the Awami League was no longer in command. Many villagers were solidly under the command of the People's Liberation Army. By the third week in May people's courts had been set up in some liberated areas. In mid-June, numerous large base areas were set up and justice had been meted out to over one hundred razakars (Yahya Khan's stooges) and other reactionaries. Because of the strength of the revolutionary peasants, the razakars came over to the peasants and were supplying false information to the Pakistani army.



Yahya Khan

Meanwhile the Indian ruling class (you know -- the Gandhi "pacifists") were viewing the situation with alarm. The possibility of a people's government in East Pakistan and the growing revolutionary movement in West Bengal province had to be eliminated. Indira Gandhi saw the possibility of accomplishing this in one fell swoop. Using the millions of Hindu refugees as an excuse, she moved six battalions of the Indian army into West Bengal province in June 1971. The provincial government was dissolved and "rule by president" was established. Interrogation centers were set up in all of the major Indian cities and were used to torture revolutionaries. Thousands of members and supporters of the Naxalites were shot on the spot. In East Pakistan the Indian government supplied arms and ammunition to the Awami League supporters. Thousands of Indian troops were deployed along the West Bengal/East Pakistan border and gave active assistance to the Awami Leaguers. These measures, however, did not ensure that counter-revolution would maintain the leadership of the East Pakistan struggle.

India launched an invasion of Pakistan under the pretext of helping the Awami League set up an "autonomous Bengla Desh." The Mukti Bahini (Awami League military), organized under the joint command of the Awami League and India, was recruited from the refugee camps along the border and the remnants of the East Pakistan Rifles which was the only portion of the Pakistani army composed of Bengalis.



Indian troops pass refugees fleeing from battle in southern Kashmir

The nationalism drummed up by the war was used to divert the Indian people's minds from domestic struggles. All sorts of reactionary measures were enacted during the war and many more revolutionaries killed.

India's performance after the defeat of Pakistan has shown their imperialist aims. The Mukti Bahini has recently become an even greater puppet of India. The entire force is now under the command of one Indian general. India is sending civilian administrators, including police, into East Pakistan.

The situation is far from stabilized however. The people are armed and are growing more restless. Many of the soldiers of the Mukti Bahini hold contempt for the Awami League and are

Mujibar has been released of course and is now attempting to consolidate his rule over East Pakistan (Bengla Desh.) His number one priority is disarming the people and various military forces in the country. The difficulty of his tasks can be seen in the fact that he is now even claiming to be a socialist in order to maintain some support among the people.

The counter-revolutionary war has been a set-back for the forces of revolution in the Indian subcontinent as many revolutionaries of various nationalities have been killed. This set back, however, has mobilized the masses and clarified class lines as never before and "a people once awakened cannot long be held in scorn."

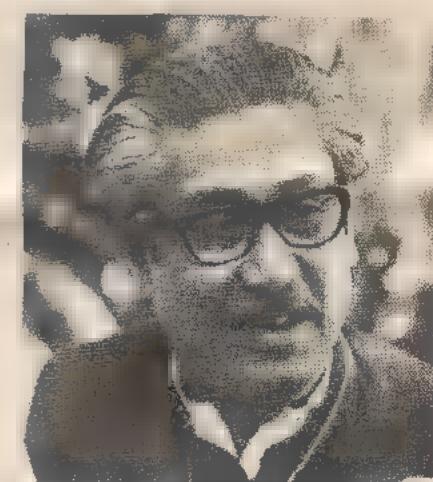
Many 'leftists' have been confused in this question. They have seen India as a liberator and have said that the people of East Pakistan (Bengla Desh) could not possibly defeat Yahya Khan's army without outside help. These people have forgotten a fundamental revolutionary truth. They forget that 'the spirit of the people is greater than man's technology'. They forget that the Vietnamese people, starting out with captured and home-made weapons, are defeating the great-



INDIRA GANDHI

taking matters into their own hands. The gravity of the situation was reflected in a statement by the Christian Science Monitor which called for the return of Mujibur Rahman in order to ensure the control of the counter-revolutionaries.

"East Bengal will need a steady and strong hand at the helm if it is to avoid a dangerous drift into radical and revolutionary waters and a takeover by revolutionary elements."



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

est reactionary military machine in the world. These people must sharpen their memories lest they remain 'leftists' all their lives and never join the ranks of the revolution.



DEFEND THE RIGHT TO SURVIVE

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE SPEAKS IN CHICAGO ON DECEMBER 4TH, THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSASSINATION OF FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK

Well, since Chicago (Chairman Bobby is referring here to the period in which, in Chicago, he was being falsely charged for conspiring to incite riots during the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention), when I was here last, having gone through Connecticut, I guess the main thing I first want to say is right on, and thank all the Brothers and Sisters and people, and human beings alike, because it was your pressure, your support that saw to it that we political prisoners were set free. All power to the people, the people!

Brothers and sisters, there's a revolutionary movement going on in this country, that the Black community, and other poor, oppressed people in this country are the spearhead of. They are the spearhead of this revolutionary movement. This revolutionary movement is manifested in the human being's desires and needs; it's manifested in the desire to rid this land called Ameri-KKK-a, this land called Ameri-KKK-a, of oppression. This revolution is manifested in our hearts, manifested in our souls, and our minds, one with the oppressed people of the world. It is manifested in such a way that somehow or another the Black Sister and a Black Brother -- if we talk about the Servant, Huey P. Newton, or if we talk about Sister Angela Davis or if we talk about Brother Fred Hampton and Brother Mark Clark, and if we talk about sister Erika Huggins, and if we talk about all the people, if we talk about my mama, if we talk about your mama, your father, and your daddy if we talk about Nat Turner and if we

talk about Denmark Vesey and if we talk about Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, and Gabriel Prosser -- (Somehow a Black Brother or Sister) can feel what's been going on 400 years, and we can understand what we've got to do now. We see we've got the right to survive as human beings on the face of this earth.

Some people, some fascists, many racists and many capitalists, with their capitalistic press, will distort to you what the real objective goals and functions of the people are, and what the real objective goals and functions of the Black Panther Party are all about. They have told you many, many lies and many, many distortions. They have called the Black Panther Party a fraud, and everything. But I'm saying this, we're saying this, the community is saying this, that whenever (based on when the Party started, based on where we stand as a community) a racist, a low-lifes policeman or a jive politician comes down and sends down some guns and billy clubs to tear our flesh and to crush our skulls, and I say if we stand up and defend ourselves -- No jive, don't be backing up -- that's no fraud.

That was only one basic survival program, when the Party hit the street in 1966, and branches and chapters flourished across this country, North, East, West and South. When Party members realized it, community people had already realized it. It wasn't just the Party. We knew we were tired of it, tired of it, and tired of being sick and tired. That's what we were, right? You know it. After 400 years

of it. And, it's still going on today, right in our midst, in our back yards, and up and down the streets, and around the corners. Well I think we're going to have to have some unity. You say we must have some unity. I'm not here to alienate my mother or my brothers. I'm talking about my sister, I want my sister, the older sisters, to understand what the real program is; so if I am out there, and if other brothers and other sisters are out there, defending the people, I want that sister to say, "Lord, them police is chasing that boy there. Come on in here and hide in here, boy." Unity! And he only wants to hide there long enough, long enough to be able to get right back out there and start implementing the basic programs, one more time.

Start talking about being revolutionary and you start talking about relating to the basic, political desires and needs of the people. Well, we don't want to hear all that junk about what politics is: "The basic, socio-economic structure and the adverse conditions to which we're subjected . . . blah . . . blah . . ." All we're saying is that our definition of politics is one basic thing, that of the basic desires and needs of the people, to survive and exist on the face of this earth like human beings. That's all. That's what we're looking for; and we are going to have to stand up for that. We don't implement this thing just by talk. It doesn't work like that anymore. There was a time, there was a time that many of us, as Black Brothers and Sisters

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know, that we weren't even able to call ourselves Black people. We called ourselves negroes; we shunned the word "nigger", and some of us called ourselves colored. Remember those days? Without all the other revolutionary brothers and sisters in the past, even the NAACP, if it had not been for them, if it had not been for Denmark Vesey, if it had not been for DuBois, if it had not been for Marcus Garvey, if it had not been for Malcolm X, if it had not been for Martin Luther King, if it had not been for all the other revolutionary brothers, if it had not been for all the other nationalist organizations, the Black Panther Party would not even exist, because we are all together. We've come out of a history.

What happened was, historically, we started a spark of unity; we started on the basis of respecting ourselves and respecting our dignity as human beings. When we said we were Black and beautiful, all we meant was that we're human beings. We're not niggers; we're not colored; we're not negroes; we're human beings . . . Black people are saying I'm Black, I'm Black and proud. You just mean that you're basically a human being.

We started off this unity with those Brothers, Malcolm and Martin. We started off this unity by first getting a basic consciousness, that said we are human beings. We have a right to survive and live. That was the beginning of our unity. All well and good. All beautiful. Yes, we started. Even ten years ago, Huey and I used to be in a group, trying to get Black people to understand that we are human beings, Black and proud. We found out one thing, we can come around and we can say we're Black and proud, and they can put "Mod Squad" on T.V., with a brother and his beautiful natural, and he's the police; Mind yourself, and you can do all that. But the Party is trying to point out one basic thing while we are Black and beautiful, a hungry child is not so beautiful when he got rickets and a swollen stomach; a dead George Jackson is not so beautiful, if he's slaughtered by a racist pig; the agony of Sister Angela Davis, through being incarcerated and locked-up in isolation, isn't so beautiful. All the brothers and sisters that are hungry, the people living in the wretched conditions aren't so beautiful. All I'm saying, Brothers and Sisters, is that we have to move on up to a step higher.

We all know we're Black and beautiful. That was our first step in unity. Now we have to get down to survival. We have to get down to organization. We have to get down to implementation of the organization in the community, implementation of the survival programs in the community. We have a right to survive, and we have to understand how we survive. Let's not even talk about the gun. Don't talk about your gun to me so abstractly. I'm saying that the gun is only used in a particular situation at a particular time. Let me tell you something Brothers and Sisters. Let me tell you something. I'm saying, we're saying and you're saying that we need some

preventative medical care and attention throughout our community. So, I cannot take a .357 magnum and nail the guns into the walls of the examining room of the medical clinic, can I? I have to have a hammer, right? All we're saying is that we've got the right to have the guns to defend our right to pick up that hammer to nail up that wall to get that medical attention.

We say we want free medical care and attention, and we say we want to put up medical clinics, we want to put the mobile units down in the community; leaflet 10 square blocks and let all the people know that the mobile unit is going to be there for the next few days; knock on the doors of my mother, my sister, my brother, and say come on down, I don't care if you just have a little cut in the hand, you know, it might get infected, and it might have to get amputated. Let's straighten it out. Take a physical. You need some vitamins, aspirins for a cold, anything you need, some surgery, we've got some doctors here; mobile units every 10 square blocks, until we make sure everybody in the Black community has got preventative medical care and attention.

It's a little different from the police and the power structure. They're talking about how we need more hospitals. They're talking about how we need more hospitals and talking some jive about some budget for this and some budget for that, to get more hospitals. We're talking about the preventative medical care and attention, PREVENTATIVE, to keep you out of the hospital. That's the point.

Our politics is different, the politics that is related to our survival, the politics that is related to our desires and needs. All we're saying is that we started eliminating the disease of Black people, Sickle Cell Anemia. It stands as one of the Survival Programs, with free testing going on; and, we're beginning to implement, with one of the oldest Black doctors in this country, Dr. Roland Scott, a Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation... You know what the power structure did, they began eliminating tuberculosis, cancer and anything related to white people. When it came down to Sickle Cell Anemia, they weren't interested. But we're interested, aren't we? We talking about survival, aren't we? We're going to implement testing and researching sickle cell anemia, the very foundation, the very building, to begin to eliminate this disease. We're going to implement the free medical clinics throughout the community. We're going to implement the free clothing factory: we've already set up in Chicago, and are getting ready to set up one in every chapter and branch. I'm not talking about hand-me-downs. I'm talking about some boots. I'm talking about some jackets. I'm talking about some dresses and some clothes. I'm talking about no more of that hand-me-down stuff. I'm talking about a building, an institution that produces FREE clothes, FREE shoes, FREE food, FREE everything that we can institute and institutionalize in this community,

our community, that we control and we run.

We're saying, Power Structure, you start jiving and send the police down here, talking about attacking and arresting our programs; arresting the food; talking about arresting our new clothes; talking about arresting our medical clinic; you've been trying to arrest our offices of the Black Panther Party for the last five years, and that's all we were trying to do was set all this up; you're going to try to arrest all this, well, Man, I'm just sorry, we're going to have to defend our survival programs to the gill even if we have to pick up guns. Then we will have become unified around the programs that SERVE us.

That's why today we brought the thousands of bags of groceries. I mean, there are some sisters and brothers in this audience that can remember, back in the 30's, when some lying politician promised a "chicken in every pot". We're not just talking. We're talking about putting that chicken in every pot; and if necessary, we'll have a free pot program to cook the chickens. If a racist policeman and the power structure want to arrest our pots, then we've got a right to defend our right to cook that chicken and eat it.

If revolutionaries or so-called revolutionaries are talking about anything else, I don't know what they are talking about. I mean, they used to recite poems: "I'm Black and I'm beautiful, and I'm Black and I'm proud. Oh, the days and nights of being Black and oppressed." The poor people are saying: well, that's not feeding me; I like the poem, Brother, and I understand the oppression, because I experience it. But, where are the clothes? Where are our new institutions? Where is the new people's power in the Black community, where we control the institutions? This is what we're talking about. If we have to defend something with guns, and I say we have a right to defend the right to live, we have a right to survive, and if you don't have a right to survive, if you don't understand the right to survive, then we're already dead.

We're being killed off daily. They, are talking about killing Black Panther Party members. What about all the Black people killed before us and still being killed? We're no different from you we're the same. We've come out into the community with the people, one-in-one with the people, the same. I've seen my mama scrub the kitchens of "Miss Ann" for years, and I'm tired of it. She doesn't do it any more: she had to have an operation. She did it for 30 years. She did it 30 years, and raised us. Sure, I've got some trades; sure, I can go over there to the Gemini Missile Plant and work on the latest parts for building rockets going to the moon. I can do all of that... I'm a machinist, and an air-craft sheet metal mechanic, that can work on the best of their jet aircraft. I'm not going to let my skill go over there, for them to take away from me, to make some bombs to go bomb some people across the water, for the same people that're bombing the people

across the water are killing and murdering us, and starving us and oppressing us right here in this country.

At the same time, in this country, you have what you'd call the employed person, the unemployed person, and, many of us down here on the bottom of the economic ladder are called the unemployable, you dig. They used to talk about employed and unemployed. Well, we are re-categorizing the whole situation. We are in the position of being the unemployable. They've got so much automation, and so much technology, and so much wealth in this country, in the hands of racist, capitalist exploiters, putting us out of jobs as fast as they can produce; the more and more objects they produce, the more they produce, seems as though the prices get higher. The Servant, Brother Huey P. Newton, went all the way to China, and do you know what he found out? The more the Chinese people produce over there, the prices get cheaper. I said wait a minute, man. I remember my mama talking about when bread was 5¢ a loaf. Now they've got all kinds of automated operations to produce bread and all other kinds of goods, in such fast, speeded-up operations. Something's wrong. Bread is awfully high. That becomes a part of why we're unemployed. However, not only are you unemployed, you become unemployable, because the automation, because the technology is still in the hands of the oppressor. So all we're saying, lumpen brothers (lumpen means unemployable) is that we have to begin to institutionalize factories in our community, that we control, to produce the goods we need to survive. That's where we're coming from.

We're saying, to the power structure if you come down here shooting at these sewing machines, you come down here shooting at this free medicine, you come down here shooting at this food - I'm talking about bringing into this town, and every other town and Black community, big diesel truck-loads of food, shoes, what have you - you come down here shooting at it, pig power structure, we're not backing up. You know what I'm talking about. Remember the last time, when you jumped on that Black mother in Watts, in 1965 and your whole town got torn down? So if we have 5,000 bags of groceries, well that's just like jumping on 5,000 Black, hungry people, who are mad, tired, sick and tired of being sick and tired. Young brothers and young sisters, you've got the energy; the brothers in the colleges who are working hard to put these programs together, you've got the fervor, you've got the ability to have the insight.

Let me tell you something. You start bringing these groceries home, you start bringing that free clothing and those free shoes home. It will be just like way back in 1965, when a little boy would come running home and arrive with a big box of stuff, and the mama would say, "Boy, you are going to get hurt, you better stay off of those streets." Well, this time it's just a little more organized, on a higher level... You say: Mama, daddy, I'm working down here at the Free Clothing Factory; I donate 5, 10, 11 hours a week, that's all. I'm still getting my education, but we're producing in the thousands; we're getting a hold on the technology. I mean, it can be done, even through the few books Huey and I have published, with the little money that comes in from them. The next thing we're getting ready to implement is that we're get-



"While we are Black and beautiful,... All the Brothers and sisters that are hungry, the people living in the wretched conditions, their wretched conditions aren't so beautiful."

ting a big mill machine, a big mill machine that makes sheets, spreads, pillow cases, blankets, towels, and, everything. I'm talking about that modern, beautiful stuff you like. That's where we're coming from; we are not talking about that junk. We are not talking about that second hand stuff...

If somebody comes around here talking to you, you, young people, or the old people, about somebody has attacked our factory, attacked our medical clinics or something, Mama isn't going to be able to hold the young people. They're going to be down there. They are going to say, look, get on back. And, the so-called responsible leaders you're going to have to get out in the middle of it too, right with the people. You'd better get a megaphone, or a microphone, or something, and get out into the middle of the street. And, as the police are coming down the street, you say, you'd better get away from here, from my free clothing program; you'd better get away from here, from my free breakfast program; you'd better get away from here, from my Intercommunal Youth Institute; you'd better get away from here, from our free prison bussing program (bussing families to the prisons to visit those who are incarcerated); you'd better get away from all our free programs, because the people are going to defend in a righteous people's, community, revolutionary style... We're defending something that is our right to have; we're defending something, because we are human beings, because we've got a right to survive. Nobody is going to give us on that.

We're not defrauding anybody. Our nails in the walls of the examining rooms of our clinics are real: the medicine, and even doctors who are helping us out, are real; the clothing, and food in our stomachs, is real. In the future, we even have in mind a free and a co-operative housing program in about 3 or 4 or 5 years from now to start implementing. We want free housing. We want everything. We are saying that, in fact, when you start talking about "freedom must ring out in the land", and "people must understand that we want freedom" (you've

heard it a lot of times), we're talking about some real freedom. We're talking about some free food; some free, good new clothes; some free goods; some free basic institutions that we control in our community. That is real freedom. We've begun to implement freedom for what it really is.

We can talk in the abstract all the time; but, we don't want to talk in the abstract, when we want to relate to reality. Brothers and sisters, people, and human beings alike, let's run it down this way. Let's say it and understand it this way, that... we have to educate the people about the programs, so they can support them and unify around them; that when we have these basic survival programs in the community, we have to understand that when we're educating, and walking and talking about survival, that we also have to defend our right to have it. So, if the racist power structure comes down here, and he sees us implementing all these programs (let me tell you, we've got 15 programs now; we might have 20 at the end of the year; we might have 30 the next year), sooner or later they're going to try to stop it. It will be just like they have been trying to stop us in the past. We're saying this, that we've got a free breakfast program, we've got a free shoe program, we've got a free intercommunal youth institute, we have got the free food program, we've got the free plumbing and maintenance service, etc. All we're saying is that if the pig power structure comes down there attacking our programs, then what we're going to have to do is also implement one more free program. We might have to implement a free gun program, so we can shoot to survive!

We're going to walk for survival. We're going to talk for survival. We're going to organize for survival. If necessary, in the future, you might some of the older mothers and older people might register for survival. We're going to have to educate for survival. We're going to have to live for survival. We've got to implement for survival, and, as I said, we will, in fact, implement, where it's necessary, a free gun program, so we can shoot for survival!

On Dec. 3 of last year, the Vancouver meeting of the Citizen's Committee of Inquiry into the War Measures Act was held. The committee, composed of law professors Laurier LaPierre and Richard Dunlop and former SFU president Linda Meissenheimer, heard presentations from a wide range of groups most of whom wanted to see the act removed from the books. Others wanted the repressive legislation kept for possible future use.

The B.C. Civil Liberties Association wanted to retain the act as it is. This was one of the most stunning statements heard and certainly changed many people's views on this organization.

Our views on the War Measures Act were given to the Commission at the end of the hearing. We believe that the W.M.A. was implemented by the Canadian State in order to isolate Quebec from the rest of Canada. This was done by effecting the act exclusively in Quebec. Even though Tom Campbell publicly offered to clean the hippies, draft dodgers and revolutionaries out of Vancouver and Attorney General Peterson wanted to round up a large number of radicals in B.C. and detain them under the act; the federal government forebade it. The only people in Vancouver who were victimized were people trying to educate around Quebec and the FLQ. The teacher in Dawson Creek, the professor from Victoria and the 7 people who were distributing the FLQ manifesto in Vancouver were all guilty of no other crime than trying to provide the information that the Sun would not print. The Act was necessary to rationalize the occupation of Quebec and in order to fight the support of the manifesto that was growing around its publication.

In order to counter the government's strategy of isolating Quebec, the Partisan Party is constantly doing education around the Quebec revolution. The following article, written by a Quebec patriot, recounts one of the more interesting events that was not disclosed by the Inquiry:

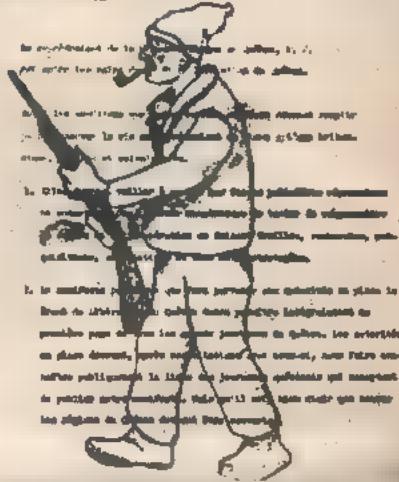


WHY LAPORTE WAS NOT SAVED

front de libération du Québec

communiqué

opération libération



What really happened in October, 1970? Many Canadians saw the War Measures Act as a good thing. It protected Canada from revolution (or at least some Quebecois reality). For the Federal government and the Quebec government however, the War Measures Act was protecting their future.

Let's go back to the Quebec Liberal Party convention in 1969-70. The man who said that the "Quiet Revolution" must start has stepped down as party leader. The two main contestants were Robert Bourassa and Pierre LaPorte. Since conventions are won with money and not any other commodity, each candidate has a financial backer. LaPorte has his brother's money behind him. Bourassa has his wife's family, the Simards, backing him.

Months before the convention, LaPorte's brother went into deep financial trouble. The Simard family, knowing how to play the game expertly, bought all of LaPorte's debts from his creditors. A family meeting was called among the Bourassa, LaPorte and Simard families. They went straight to the point, LaPorte had to concede the leadership of the party to Bourassa. The Simards who wanted to be democratic about the whole thing, financed part of LaPorte's campaign.

Time passed and the convention arrived but someone was missing -- LaPorte's brother. With all the pressure and his financial problems weighing on him he couldn't take it any more and died of a heart attack. Another family meeting was quickly arranged. This time, however, LaPorte was holding all the cards. A deal was made between the families. Since LaPorte knew it was too late to win the convention he demanded the job of Labor Minister in the new cabinet along with the removal of a part of the department. All this was agreed to and in the provincial election Bourassa came in as prime minister of Quebec and LaPorte was Minister of Labor. Then came October 1970.

First it was Cross, then LaPorte, then the army. Two things happened on the same day. First a telephone call from Claude Ryan (editor of the intellectual paper *Le Devoir*) to Saulnier. Talking purely fiction, Ryan supposed

that a parallel government was being set up. Saulnier, not a man to take chances, phoned Drapeau, Trudeau and Bourassa. At this time Bourassa was receiving a message from the kidnapped LaPorte, saying that he (LaPorte) had two families to support and referring to their two previous meetings (the Bourassa - Simard - LaPorte meetings of 1969), said that Bourassa understood his position and better help him out of the F.L.Q.'s hands. It all boiled down to saying that if he was not freed, he would blackmail the Bourassa's and the Liberal party. In other words LaPorte would tell the FLQ and the FLQ would use this information to cripple the government. The Parti Quebecois would have soon independence and maybe even the Socialists would take over. Bourassa explained the situation to his boss, Trudeau, who was not pleased (to say the least).

So out comes the army and the raids and other repressive measures in order to save the party, the government and maybe even LaPorte. LaPorte forgot one thing, however -- with all the pressure on the FLQ, he might be killed. A tactical error cost him his life. But the story had a happy ending for some. Bourassa and Trudeau were happy that the party was safe. Simard was happy. His money was safe. Once again democracy had been saved.

The reason that LaPorte's wife didn't bring this story into the open is very simple. They (the LaPorte's) were accustomed to high living. They knew that if they were to expose this scandal it would mean that the large sum of money that the government had voted them and money that the Simard family had contributed would be cut off. At the same time the scandal would blacken her husband's reputation. Also the chance of proving this against the government is very slight. All this might have happened and Canadians still think that the good guys won.

NOUS VAINCRONS!



AN OPEN LETTER TO

The news that you have rejected the F.L.Q. and its strategy of armed agitation came as a surprise to us. Since, only last September you were advocating armed underground activities as being the only revolutionary activity in Quebec; you can well understand our shock.

The way we see it you have jumped from one side to the other side of an either/or viewpoint. The solution is not one of either armed agitation or electoral battles. It is one of how to combine all of these tactics into one overall strategy that can gain liberation. To adopt one or the other position is to be limited to action that can be isolated from the people and destroyed or action that is constrained by bourgeois legality and hence controlled by the ruling class.

You have, in your latest communications, called for unity of all nationalist and socialist forces in a common struggle against colonial and imperial domination. This, we agree, is necessary; for, in the age of imperialism, the national struggle and the class struggle are identical. The reason that these two struggles are identical, however, is in that there is only one class that can lead either of these struggles to victory - the working class. The middle class, because it has



PIERRE VALLIERES

neither the desire nor the strength, can only lead the struggle into the arms of the imperialists. You have stated that the leadership in the national struggle is in the hands of the Partis Québécois. You go on to claim that the P.Q. is the "main political expression of the masses." Looking at this statement we would like to ask you the following questions:

(1) How can a party that is controlled by the Quebecois bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie be the expression of the masses?

(2) How can a party that has no class analysis and no program for socialism be a party of the masses?

The Quebecois masses need a political party that expresses their needs and aspirations. This party must be a working class party, a party that can carry out extensive aboveground actions. This must be a party that can enter into coalitions with all nationalist forces, perhaps even the P.Q., a party that can maintain the hegemony of the working class.

This party, while making alliances with other classes, must struggle with these classes in order to maintain leadership. That is, this party must stand united with all nationalist forces against the imperialists and colonialists but must combat the defeatist and treacherous ideology and practice of the middle class. By maintaining the workers should not form their own above ground party but should join the P.Q. you are advocating a position that is counter-revolutionary.

NOUS VAINCRONS

Extreme Measures Taken

The government of South Korea, in a two minute parliamentary session held in the middle of the night, and in the absence of the opposition party -- The New Democratic Party, gave new dictatorial powers to president Park Chung Hee.

Under the new legislation, the president has the power to control wages, prices and rents; shift budgetary allocations; mobilize people and resources and forbid public assembly and freedom of the press.

The provision of press and public assembly control can be used at any time in order to smash any dissent. The act states that when there is a danger of "splitting national opinion" or "causing confusion in national order", the government can use these powers.

The government, in order to justify these fascist measures, claims that an attack from North Korea is imminent. The opposition New Democratic Party has exposed these measures as being aimed at crushing the rising dissent at home.

GUINEAU (BISSAU) GUERRILLAS FOIL PORTUGUESE OFFENSIVE

On December 20, the Portuguese colonialists staged a counter-revolutionary offensive against the liberated areas of Mores.

The offensive was smashed by the Guinean guerrillas. The guerrillas killed 102 enemy troops, wounded dozens more and captured a large amount of materials. The Portuguese commander of the ill-fated adventure committed suicide shortly after.



WHAT WE WANT.... WHAT WE BELIEVE....

1) WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT CONTROL OVER OUR OWN LIVES AND SELF DETERMINATION FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE.

We believe that under imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, people are forced to surrender control over their own lives in order to survive.

The ruling class that owns and controls this system wants us to believe that the heroic Indochinese people and all those who are leading the fight against their tyranny are the problem. We will not be fooled about who are our real friends and who are our real enemies. The problem is the system that oppresses us; the people of the world are the solution.

We will aid the armed struggle of the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America for self determination. We will fight on the side of the Quebec, black and native peoples against the growth of fascism which seeks to perpetuate divisions among the people in order to enslave all of us.

We will support the right of the Quebec, black and Native peoples to land and national independence where they choose this road to self-determination.

We believe that all people's struggles for freedom are one; directed at a common enemy, imperialism and class oppression. In order to put an end to this slavery and take control over our own lives, we must join together and take the power that is righteously ours.

2) WE WANT WORK FOR EVERYONE -- WORK THAT SERVES THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

We believe that everyone has a right to creative, productive work that provides for human needs rather than producing profits for a few. Since the government and businessmen will not provide full employment that meets our needs, the means of production should be taken over by the people they exploit and oppress.

3) WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that since the government and landlords will not provide decent housing for the people, the housing and land should be taken under the collective ownership and control of the people.

4) WE WANT COMPLETE HEALTH SERVICES FOR EVERYONE.

We believe that in this system adequate health care is available only for those who can afford it. Complete health care is more than being treated once you are already sick. It includes eliminating all causes of ill health. Among these causes are lack of nutritious food, proper clothing and a clean environment. Since the government and the medical establishment will not provide complete health care, the people should establish community controlled health centers that will serve the people's total health needs.

5) WE WANT AN EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US HOW TO MEET OUR SURVIVAL NEEDS.

We believe that the education we receive perpetuates the class system and is defined by the needs of industry rather than by the needs of the people. We are taught a discipline of thoughtless obedience. Through a system of streaming based on class, race and sex discrimination we are channelled into dead-end courses that teach us nothing, trained for jobs that don't exist or jobs that serve only the needs of the capitalists. We believe that education should teach us the skills we need in order to survive and to build a society where all people's needs are met. Education should teach us our true history, the history of class struggle. People must have a knowledge of themselves and their position in society in order to fight successfully for control over their own lives. Since the public schools are designed to rip off that control, the community should set up its own education.

6) WE WANT AN END TO THIS EXPLOITATIVE LEGAL SYSTEM THAT SERVES ONLY THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH.

We believe that in this society the courts do not dispense justice. They are organs to control and oppress the people in the interests of the ruling class. Because of bail, lawyers' fees and high court costs only the wealthy and big business can win in the legal system. We believe that true justice must be based on the formation of people's courts where crimes against the community will be judged by the oppressed and exploited people of the community.

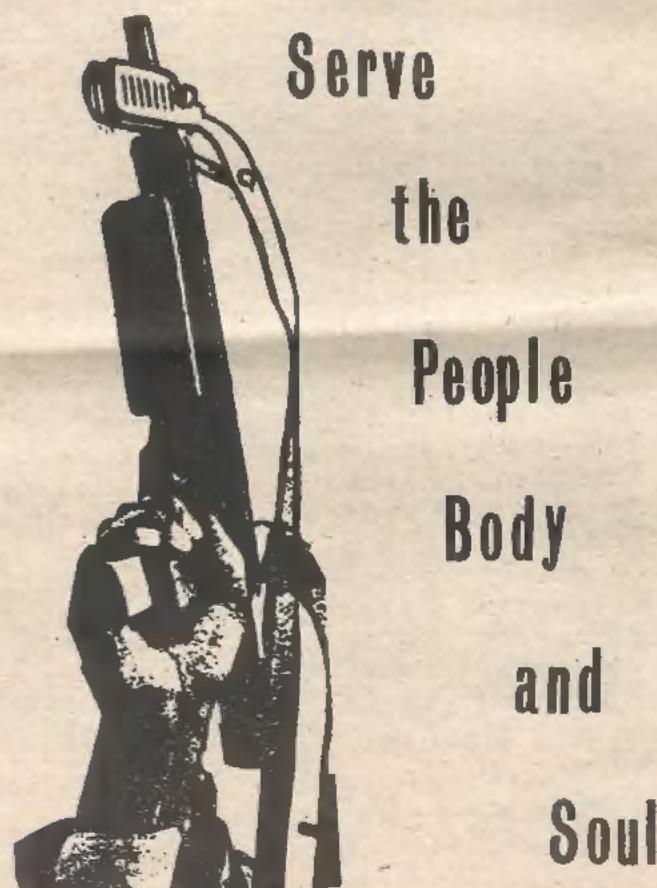
7) WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL MEN AND WOMEN BEING HELD IN PRISONS, JAILS, REFORM SCHOOLS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF DETENTION.

We believe that very few people are imprisoned for crimes against the people. Most are locked up for standing up to their oppressors or for desperately trying to fill the survival needs that this system is incapable of meeting. They are political prisoners. Since the state will not free them, the people will see that they are freed by whatever means necessary.

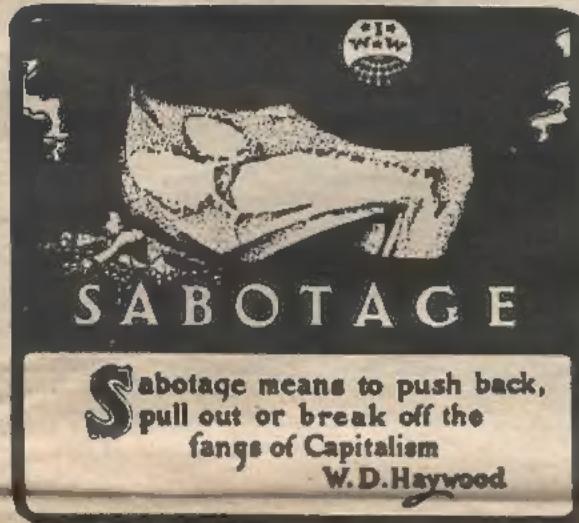
8) WE WANT AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND ALL FORMS OF BUREAUCRATIC HARASSMENT AGAINST THE PEOPLE.

We believe that the people have the right to self-determination and human dignity. In this system police and bureaucrats are used to harass and control the people by enforcing oppressive rules and regulations. They exist to protect the property and interests of the capitalists against the attempts of the people to meet their real needs. The taxmen enforce the unjust system that taxes the poor to fund a government that serves the rich. The debt collectors seize what little we own so that the finance companies and banks can own even more of us. The police aid and protect them.

The only way in which police brutality and bureaucratic harassment can be ended is by the people taking whatever measures necessary to defend themselves and to exercise their basic human rights.



It's not Revolutionaries by themselves that scare the rulers. What they are really afraid of is the awakening of the people they keep in misery day after day.



THIS PAPER
PRODUCED BY VOLUNTARY LABOUR
PRINTED IN A UNION SHOP

Peasants Arise!



The Partisan is dedicated to publishing the truth about what is happening in our communities. The Partisan Party is dedicated to doing something about it. The ruling class and their various agents will not want this to happen.. Consequently, we feel it is only fair that we ask all those who want to distribute the paper to make certain realistic commitments.

Firstly, people that distribute should do so because they understand the contents and want to make sure the politics get to others.

Secondly, they must care enough to make sure the paper is constantly improved. This means that they must be prepared to discuss the paper with the readers and gather comments, criticisms and stories. The job isn't simply one of selling a paper; it is really part of serving the people. The job involves taking initiative when it is possible that the paper or the party can offer concrete aid in community struggles. Distributors should be prepared to follow up on their contacts.

The Partisan Party needs distributors to help us build our circulation and meet the expenses of production and printing the paper. Because of this we are offering ten cents a copy to people who need money. But we are still looking for volunteers to help us.

Finally, it is necessary to be prepared for police harassment and to accept the consequences of this political activity. We therefore will brief people who are interested in selling on the legal first aid guidelines, most of which are in our legal first aid card.



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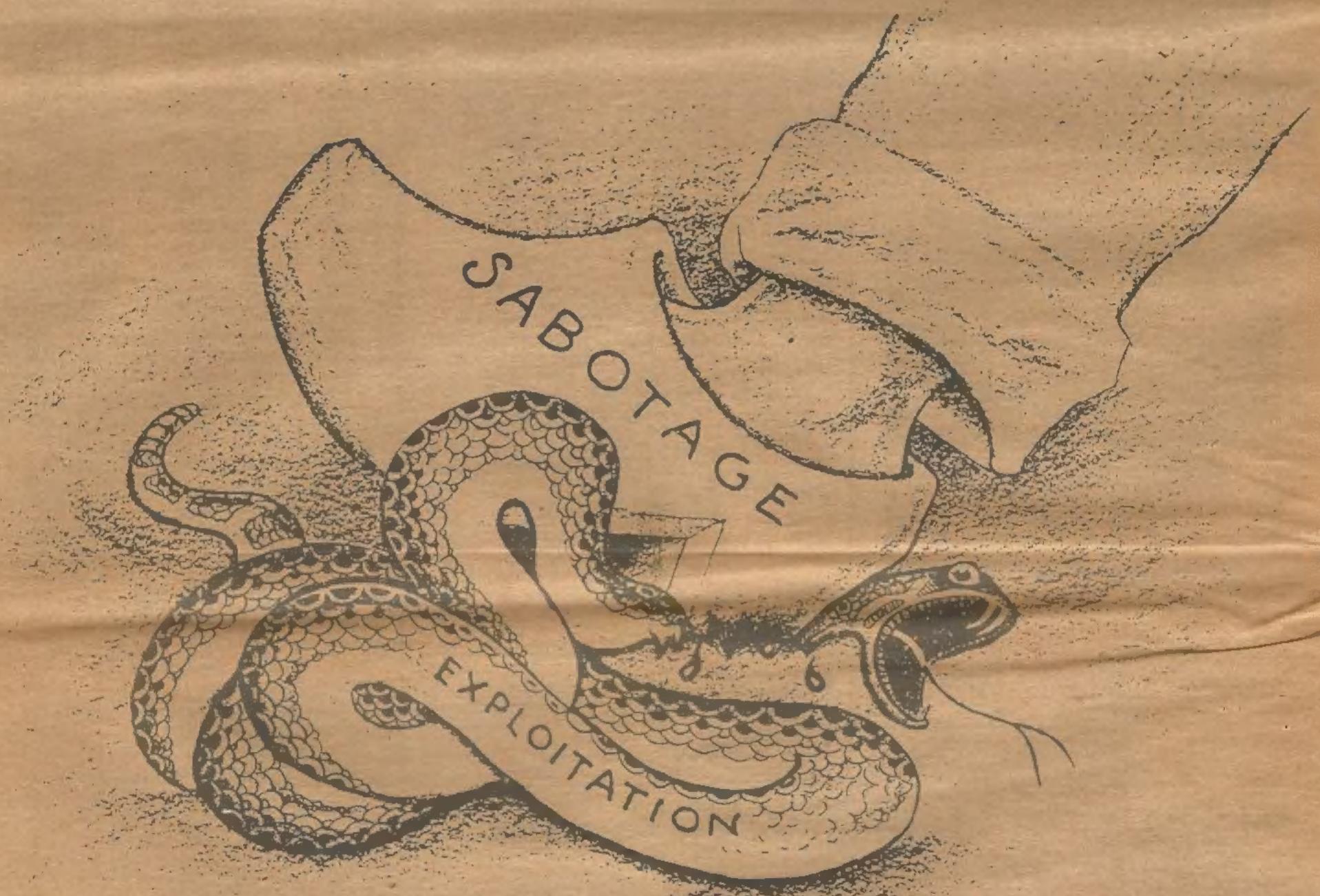
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Bingo

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